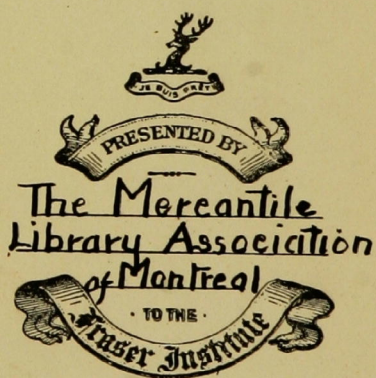
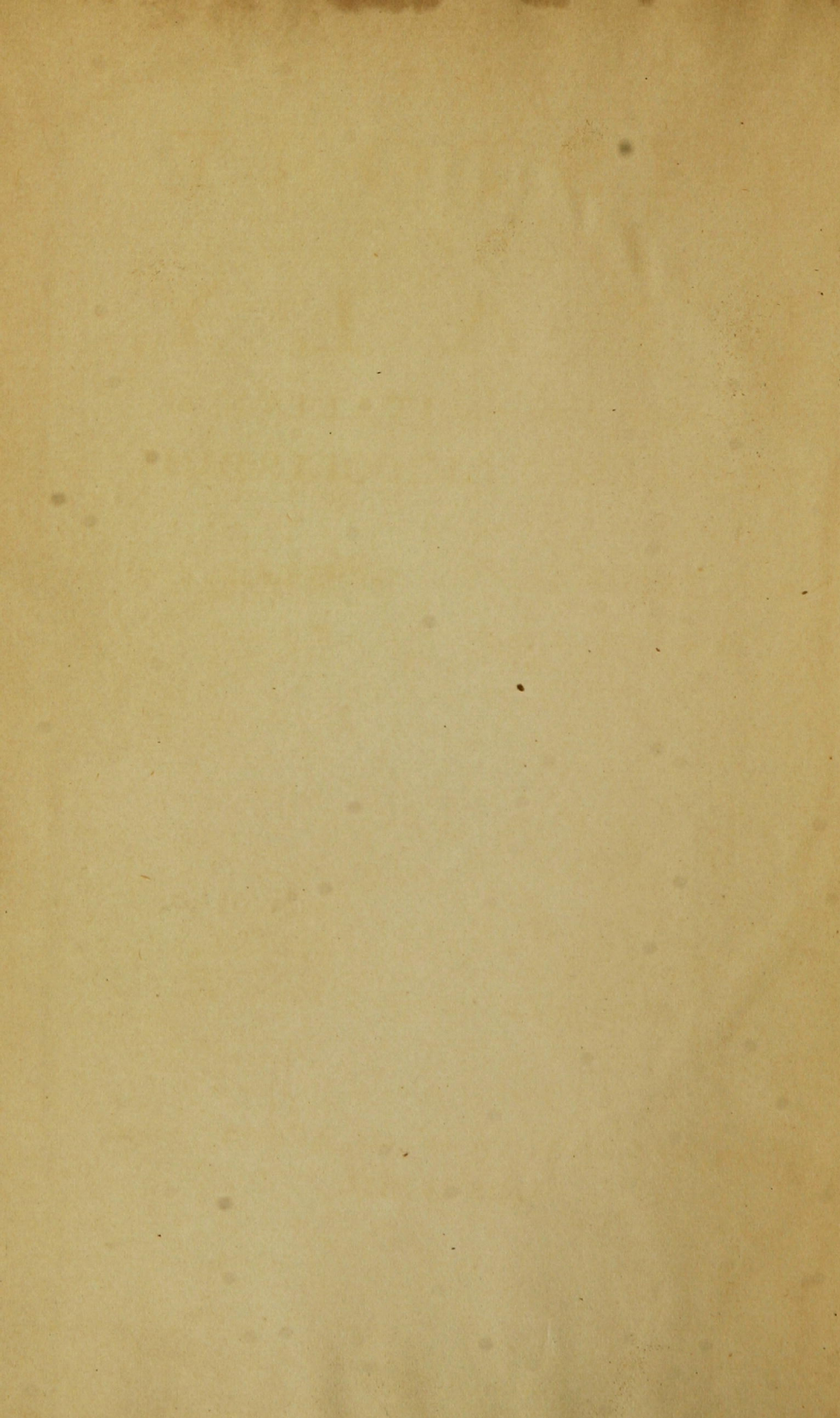


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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I T A L Y,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

B Y
AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;

The T H I R D E D I T I O N.

V O L. X.



L O N D O N,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the *Lamb*, in *Pater-noster-Row*.

MDCCLXIII.

THE

HISTORY

ITALY

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF VENICE

AND OF THE

MARK OF GODDARD, ESQ.

IN THE

VOLUME

OF THE

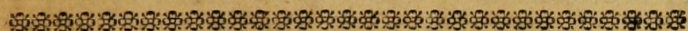
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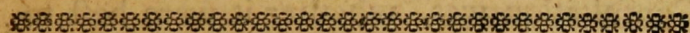
MARK OF GODDARD, ESQ.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K XIX.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

Lautrech besieges Naples. French Fleet defeats that of the Imperialists. Antonio da Leva recovers Pavia. Andrea Doria deserts the French Service for that of Cæsar. Pope becomes an open Enemy to the Florentines, and makes a League with Cæsar. French Army before Naples consumed by a Pestilence, which among the rest carries off Lautrech. Andrea Doria takes Genoa. Confederates take Pavia. Genoese take Savona, and set themselves at Liberty. M. de St. Pol


A 2

taken

A. D.

1528

taken Prisoner by Antonio da Leva. Peace between Cæsar and the King of France at Cambray. Interview of the Pope with Cæsar at Bologna, where War is decreed against the Florentines. Cæsar makes Peace with the Venetians, and with Francesco Sforza, to whom he restores the Dutchy of Milan.

 *AUTRECH* being thus encamped with the Army under the Walls of *Naples*, the first Consultation was, whether it were best to try to force that City by the Violence of Artillery, and the Valour of Men*, as many advised, who counselled the General to augment the Number of his Infantry for that Purpose. These represented the many Difficulties that would not admit of a long Continuance in that Station, as the Difficulty of supplying the Army with Provisions, because the Enemy, who much abounded in Light Horse, and were ready on all Occasions to employ them, obstructed their Convoys; and the Hopes that *Naples* would be obliged to surrender by

Reasons
for vigorously at-
tacking
Naples.

* By Storm and Battery in the most speedy Manner.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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by Famine were uncertain, because *Doria's* Gallies being insufficient to block up the Port, and the Gallies of the *Venetians*, though promised every Day, failing to come, there had entered into *Naples*, where Meal was scarce, four Gallies from *Gaeta* laden with that Commodity, and other Vessels entered every Day ; that the *Venetians* seemed cold and remiss in their Provisions, for, being obliged to contribute Twenty-two thousand Ducats each Month for their Share, they were already run in Debt Sixty Thousand ; that Remittances of Money from *France* came but slowly ; that the Army was already full of Dis-temperers, which, however, did not proceed so much from the ordinary Gravity of that Air, which usually begins to be hurtful at the End of Summer, as from the Season, which had been very rainy, and because many of the Army had lodged in the Field.

A. D.
1528.

LAUTRECH, however, considering the great Number and Valour of the Defend-
ants, and that the Fortifications on the Mountain, which might be succoured,

Lautrech's
contrary
Reasons
and Con-
duct.

A 3 rendered

A. D.
1528.

rendered it very difficult for him to make himself Master either of the Mountain or of the City by Force, and, perhaps, unwilling to lay out his Money on very slender Hopes, for fear that hereafter he should not have enough to supply his ordinary Expences, resolved to employ himself not in winning the Place by Force, but by Siege*, in Hopes that, before much Time had passed, the Enemy would come to want either Provisions or Money. Wherefore he bent all his Thoughts and Preparations on a Siege, wholly intent on preventing Viſtuals from entering the Place by Land, and ſolliciting the Arrival of the *Venetian Gallies*, in order to ſtop their Importation by Sea. Then, changing his Reſolution, he permitted Skirmiſhes to be made, leſt the Soldiers, by remaining unactive, ſhould loſe their Courage. Hence frequent Skirmiſhing happened between Parties, and with great Reputation to the Black Bands, who, by the Diſcipline of *Giovanni de' Medici*, excelling in this Kind of Fight, had not as yet ſhewn their Proweſs in the Field, in a pitched Battle,

and

* What the Author means by *Aſſedio*, a Siege, the Moderns call a Blockade.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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and in a firm and steady Engagement. At this Time arrived in the Army Eighty Men at Arms from the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and an Hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, though he had been received into full Protection by the King of *France*, and by the *Venetians*, had yet delayed as much as he could to make any Motion, in order to regulate his Resolutions by probable Conjectures on the future Event of the War.

A. D.
1528.

IN this State of Affairs the Imperialists conceived Hopes of defeating *Filippino Doria*, who lay at Anchor with his Gallies in the Bay of *Salerno*, not laying so much Stress on the Number and Goodness of their Ships, as on the Valour of the Combatants; for they filled Six Gallies, Four Pinnaces, and Two Brigantines with a Thousand *Spanish* Harquebusiers of the most valiant and most reputable Troops in the Army, with whom embarked Don *Ugo* the Viceroy, and almost all the Generals and Men of Authority. To this Fleet, which was under the Direction of *Gobbo*, a famous Commander, and of long

A. D.

1528.

Experience in maritime Affairs, was added a great Number of Fishing-Boats, to terrify the Enemy at a Distance with the Prospect of a greater Number of Ships. These all set sail from *Possilipo*, and touched at the Isle of *Capri*, where Don *Ugo*, to the very great Prejudice of the Undertaking, lost Time in hearing a *Spanish* Hermit, who in his Preaching kindled their Spirits to fight with a Resolution worthy of the Glory of their Nation, acquired by so many Victories. From hence, leaving the Cape of *Minerva* on the Left, they entered the Main Sea, and detached Two Gallies before, with Orders to approach the Enemy, and then pretend to fly, in order to draw them forth into the open Sea. But *Filippino Doria* having the Day before, by trusty Spies, been apprised of the Enemy's Design, had, in all Haste, requested *Lautrech* to send him immediately Three Hundred Harquebusiers, who arrived under the Command of Capt. *Croche* a little before the Discovery of the Enemy's Fleet. *Filippino*, as soon as he discovered them at a Distance, though he had with great Spirit made all the necessary

THE WARS IN ITALY.

9

A. D.
1528.

fary Preparations for an Engagement, yet, being concerned at the great Number of Vessels that appeared in Sight, stood in great Suspense: But in a short Space of Time he was freed from his Doubts by perceiving, when the Enemy drew near, that there were no more than Six Ships of the Line*. Wherefore with a bold Courage, and like a most expert naval Commander, he caused Three Gallies to part from the rest in manner of a Flight, and by fetching a Compass to gain the Benefit of the Wind for attacking the Enemy on the Side and Stern. He himself with Five Gallies went to meet the Enemy, who ought in Policy to have discharged their Artillery, in order to have taken from him his Sight and Level by the Smoke. But *Filippino* gave Fire to a very large Basilisk of his Galley, which struck the Admiral Galley, on board of which was *Don Ugo*, and killed at the first Shot Forty Men, among whom were the Captain, and many Officers, and the other Cannons discharged afterwards killed and wounded a

Mul-

* *Legni da Gaggia*, "Ships of Scuttle," or which have a Scuttle or Bowl on the Topmast, proper to large Vessels of Force,

A. D.

1528.

Multitude. On the other hand, the Discharge of the Cannon from Don Ugo's Galley killed aboard the Galley of *Filippino* the Captain, and wounded the Master, and the Ships approaching one another there was a sharp Engagement with Harquebusses and other Arms. But the *Genoese*, experienced in these Fights, better avoided the Danger, fighting bended, and cautiously between the Intervals of Pavises*. While the two Gallies were thus combating with the greatest Fierceness, Three other Gallies of the Imperialists grappled with Two *Genoese*, and had a great Superiority, when the Three first *Genoese* Gallies, which, making a Show of flying, had got out into the open Sea, returned upon the Enemy, and gave their Fire on the Side of the Admiral Galley, and brought down the Mast of the Galley called the *Neptune*, which did her a great deal of Damage. Here Don Ugo, wounded in the Arm, while he was encouraging his Men, amidst the Stones and Wildfire thrown

* *Paluesi*, 'Pavises,' properly large Shields, but here seems to be meant what Seamen call *Waste-Cloths*, which are Cloths hung about the Lag-work of a Ship's Hull to shadow the Men from the Enemy in a Fight.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

II

thrown from the Masts of the hostile Gallies, was slain fighting. Then the Admiral Galley of *Filippino* and the *Mora* shattered and tore the Admiral Galley of Don *Ugo*, and the other Two with their Cannon sunk the *Gobba*, in which *Fieramosca* perished. In the mean time the other Gallies of *Filippino* had rescued those Two Gallies of theirs which were oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and taken their Pinnaces. Only Two Gallies of the *Spaniards*, seeing the Victory in the Enemy's Hands, made a shift to escape much shattered. At the same time the Marquis *del Guasto* and *Ascanio*, their Galley ready to sink and in Flames, the Oars broken, and almost all the Soldiers killed, and themselves wounded, were made Prisoners, the Splendor of their gilt Arms saving them from Death. *Filippino* was pretty much assisted in this Engagement by the Galley Slaves whom he released, who were for the most Part *Turks* and *Moors*, and fought excellently well. Don *Ugo* was dead and thrown into the Sea, and so was *Fieramosca*; there remained Prisoners the Marquis *del Guasto*, *Ascanio*
Colonna,

A. D.
1528.

French de-
feat the
Impe-
rialists in
a naval
Engage-
ment.

A. D. *Colonna*, the Prince of *Salerno*, *Santa Croce*, *Camillo Colonna*, *Gobbo*, *Serenone*, and many other Officers and Gentlemen; of the Soldiers above a Thousand were killed; of the *French* were but few killed or wounded. *Filippino* sent the Prisoners with Three Gallies to *Andrea Doria*, and not long after one of the Gallies that had saved themselves deserted to the *French*.

THIS Victory gave great Hopes to the *French* of the Success of the whole Undertaking, and, perhaps, greater than would have been requisite, since it made *Lautrech* in some measure more slack in his Provisions; but it filled the Imperialists with great Terror, as doubting that they should want the Means of Subsistence, being wholly deprived of the Dominion of the Sea, and straitened in many Parts by Land, especially since the Loss of *Pozzuolo*, for by that Road great Quantities of Victuals were conveyed to *Naples*, in which was already a great Scarcity of Meal and Flesh, and but a small Quantity of Wine. Wherefore the Day after the Defeat they turned out

Naples
straitened.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

13

out of the City a great Number of useles A. D. 1528.
Mouths, and, establishing an Order in the
Distribution of Food, took care that the
German Foot should suffer less than the
other Soldiers.

THESE Circumstances were very flattering to *Lautrech*, whose Hopes were still much more increased by the Interception of a Brigantine on the 7th of *May* with Letters of the Generals to *Cæsar*, by which they signified that they had lost the Flower of the Army; that there was not in *Naples* Corn for above a Month and half, but that they ground their Meal by Strength of Arm; that the *Germans* began to be tumultuous, and that there was no further Remedy for these Evils but by the speedy Arrival of some Provision of Money, and of Succours by Sea and Land. It was added, that the Plague was begun in *Naples*, which is very contagious where are *German* Soldiers, because they abstain not from conversing with the Infected, nor from managing their Concerns. Plague in that City.

ON

THE HISTORY OF

ON the other side the *French* suffered for want of Water, since from *Poggio Reale* to the Front of the Army were nothing but Cisterns which served the Troops; Sickness also increased in the Camp, and the Enemy, being much superior in Light Horse, was continually making Sallies, especially by the Way that leads to *Somma*, and not only conveyed into the City Plenty of Flesh and Wine, but frequently intercepted the Convoys of Provisions that were coming to the *French* Army. Many solicited *Lautrech* to take into his Service some Light Horse for opposing those of the Enemy: But he not only refused to do it, but even permitted the greater Part of the *French* Cavalry to disperse themselves into *Capua*, *Aversa*, and *Nola*, which gave the Enemy more Liberty to act as above related. He was advised by others, since the Infantry of the Army was diminished by Sickness, to raise Seven or Eight Thousand Foot, for recruiting his Infantry, and also for making it stronger, as it had been desired from the Beginning. But he refused

Obstinacy
of *Lau-*
trech.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

15

fused to do it, alledging, that he wanted Money, though at that time he had received a convenient Supply from *France*, besides the Revenue from the Duty on the Sheep of *Puglia*, and of the conquered Towns; and the Lords of the Kingdom who attended him had been ready to lend him no small Sums of Money.

A. D.
1528.

HERE it will be worth our Pains to consider what Disorders are occasioned by the Obstinacy of those who are entrusted with the Management of great Affairs.

The Ruin
of his
Army.

Lautrech was, without doubt, the principal General in the Kingdom of *France*, of long Experience in War, and of very great Authority in the Army; but of a haughty and imperious Nature, who, trusting to himself alone, while he despised the Counsels of all others, while he would hearken to nobody, while he thought it a Disgrace that Men should discover that he was not always governed by his own Judgment, omitted those Provisions which, had they been employed, would, perhaps, have secured the Victory, but, being despised, were

A. D. were the Occasion of reducing the Enter-
 prise, begun with such great Hopes, to
 the utmost Ruin.

Bravery of
 the Black
 Bands.

THE Soldiers of the Black Bands skir-
 mished every Day, being quartered in the
 Front of the Army, and their Excess of
 Courage carrying them so near the Walls
 of *Naples* as to expose them to the Shot
 of the Harquebusses from thence, and
 having no Cavalry to secure their Retreat,
 they were cut down by the Enemy's Horse.
 Hence, finding the Disadvantage of skir-
 mishing without Cavalry under the Walls
 of *Naples*, they began to be more cautious,
 and not so frequently to engage in such
 Contests.

Progress
 of the
 French.

AFTER the naval Victory the Town
 of *Stabbia* on the Sea Coast surrendered
 to *Lautrech*, but not the Castle. *San Ger-
 mano* had also submitted; and the Troops
 that were in *Gaeta* having recovered *Fondi*
 and the Country about it, *Lautrech* sent
 thither *Don Ferrando Gaetano*, Son of the
 Duke of *Trajetto*, and the Prince of *Melfi*,
 who had newly agreed with the *French*,
 because

THE WARS IN ITALY.

17

because the Imperial Generals took but little Care to get him released, who easily repossessed themselves of those Places. *Simone Romano* also made a great Progress in *Calabria*, through the Readiness of the People to own the Name of the *French*.

A. D.
1528.

BUT these Actions were not sufficient to obtain the Victory of the War, which wholly depended on the Conquest or Defence of *Naples*. *Lautrech*, therefore, principally intent on the Siege, and not wholly despairing of carrying *Naples* by Force, since so many of the *Spanish* Foot had been killed in the naval Engagement, solicited the Coming of the *French* and *Venetian* Fleets, that he might deprive that City of all Conveyance of Provisions by Sea. He also advanced the Front of his Army more forward on a Hill nearer to *Naples* and to the Mountain of *San Martino*, where an Intrenchment was made by the Black Bands, not only for carrying a Trench from that Hill as far as the Sea Coast, and which, having at its Extremity towards the Sea a Redoubt, should block up the Road to *Somma*, but

Lautrech
presses the
Siege of
Naples.

A. D.
1528.

also for attempting, as soon as the Fleets were arrived, to take the Mountain of *San Martino* by Force, after having first cast up another Intrenchment between the City and that Mountain, that one might not succour the other; which done, he designed at the same time to assault *Naples* with the Fleets on the Side of the Sea, and while he cannonaded the Town from the Front of the Camp on the Inside, to attack it without by one Part of the Army, and with the other to storm the Mountain, that the Enemy being necessitated to divide their Troops into so many Places might the more easily be forced in one Quarter or other. He took Care, however, in removing the Front of the Camp to a greater Distance, not to abandon *Poggio Reale*, lest the Enemy by recovering it might deprive him of the Conveniency of Water, but drew the Rear of his Camp closer together.

His
Scheme
frustrated.

THIS Scheme was well laid, but opposed by many Difficulties in the Execution; for neither could the Trenches, which were to be carried to the Sea above

THE WARS IN ITALY. 19

a Mile in Length, be worked for want of *A. D.*
 Pioneers, and because of the Sickneſs ^{1528.}
 among the Soldiers; nor did the Fleets
 arrive, as Neceſſity would have required,
 either for a Siege or a Storm. For *Andrea*
Doria with the Gallies that were at *Genoa*
 did not move, of the Fleet prepared at
Marſeilles nothing was heard, and the *Ve-*
netians, more intent on their own Inter-
 eſt than on the common Benefit, or rather
 on their leſſer and ſubordinate than on
 their principal Inter-*eſt*, employed their
 Fleet in the Enterpriſe on *Brindiſi* and
Otranto; of which Cities *Otranto* had ca-
 pitulated to ſurrender if it were not relieved
 within Sixteen Days, and though *Brin-*
diſi had admitted the *Venetians* by an
 Agreement, the Caſtles ſtill held out for
Cæſar, that by the Sea ſo ſtrong that there
 were no Hopes of taking it by Force, but
 the great Caſtle within the City ſeemed no
 longer able to make Reſiſtance, having
 loſt two Outworks.

ON the 12th of *May Lautrech* planted
 his Cannon on the Hill, and battered a ^{Progreſs of}
 large Tower which greatly annoyed the ^{the Siege.}
B 2
Field.

A. D. Field. He also frequently fired into the ^{1528.} Town, but with little Success, and sometimes there were Skirmishes at *Sant' Antonio*. On the 16th the Artillery planted on the Top of the Hill played upon certain large Towers between the Gate of *San Gennaro* and the *Capuan* Gate, and prevented the carrying on a Bastion which the Besieged had begun.

State of
the Gar-
rison.

IN *Naples* the greatest Part of the Subsistence was on boiled Corn, and Numbers left the Town every Day; and the *Germans*, though they suffered less than others, made frequent Protests for Want of Bread, and much more of Wine and Flesh, for Want of which they suffered greatly, though, besides other Arts, they were sufficiently amused with false Letters of Relief.

Besiegers
work on
Trenches.

ON the 19th the Besiegers worked on a new Intrenchment and a Redoubt, on which they designed, as soon as it should be perfected, to plant two Cannons for ruining two Mills near the *Maddalena*, guarded by two Companies of *Germans*, which

which had never yet been attempted, because they were in a Condition to be succoured from *Naples*. A. D. 1528.

HITHERTO the Affairs of the *French* had been attended with nothing but Prosperity; but from this time began, thro' ^{French} Affairs decline. occult Causes, to tend towards a Decline. For *Filippino Doria*, by Orders secretly received, as it was known afterwards, from *Andrea Doria*, had retired with the Gallies to the Coast of *Pozzuolo*, so that some Quantity of Provisions in Barks was continually entering *Naples*, where had remained few others beside Soldiers. And though the *Venetian* Fleet, after the Acquisition of *Otranto*, gave Hopes every Hour of coming to *Naples*, yet they delayed in Expectation of soon obtaining the great Castle of *Brindisi*. Distempers also increased hourly in the Army; and the Black Bands, who, formerly, when Occasion called to Action, appeared in a Body of above Three Thousand, now, between Wounded, Sick, and Dead, scarce made up Two Thousand.

A. D.

1528.

*Oratio
Baglione
killed.*

ON the 22d the *Spaniards* attacked the Guard of the Besiegers in the new Trenches, where they were working in Hopes of finishing them in Six or Eight Days ; and *Oratio Baglione*, who was with a small Company in a dangerous Place, was slain fighting ; a Death more worthy of a private Soldier than of a General. From this Disorder the Imperialists, conceiving Hopes of greater Success, made a new Sally in a very large Body ; but the Camp putting themselves in Arms, and a strong Guard being posted at the Trenches, they retired.

Besieged
make Ex-
cursions.

FILIPPINO, however, after many Instances used with him, returned anew into the Bay of *Naples* ; and on the 27th the Trenches were not yet finished, which had been begun for stopping up the Road towards *Somma*. The *Spaniards* also made Excursions every Day, and infested the Roads, conveying great Quantities of Flesh into the City, and meeting with little Disturbance from the Cavalry of the Camp, because they very rarely marched out. And now *Lautrech* began to desire a
Supple-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

23

Supplement of Foot; but, because he would not yield in every Respect to the Counsel of others, he insisted on having Six Thousand Men of any Nation sent him out of *France* by Sea; for Want and Sicknefs had induced Multitudes to leave the Camp, and amidst so many Difficulties he himself began to be the only Person that had any Hopes of Victory, which he grounded on the Famine of the City.

A. D.
1528.

IN the mean time *Simone Romano*, with Two Thousand Foot between *Corficans* and Peasants, had a prosperous Career of Success in *Calabria*: For though he was opposed by the Prince of *Bisignano*, and a Son of *Alarcone* with a Thousand Foot of the Country, yet they found it difficult to make Head against him; wherefore the Son of *Alarcone* retired into *Taranto*, leaving the Prince in the Field. But soon after *Simone* made himself Master of *Cosenza* by Agreement, and then seizing on a neighbouring Town he took Prisoners the Prince of *Stigliano*, and the Marquis of *Laino* his Son, with two others of his

French
Partisans
successful
in Cal-
abria.

B 4

Sons.

A. D. Sons. But in *Puglia* those who held

1528.

Manfredonia in the Name of *Cæsar* scoured all the Country, the Horse and Foot of the *Venetians* not resisting them, being employed in the Acquisition of those Towns abovementioned.

Distur-
bances
near *Rome*.

NOR were all Things at Peace in the Territory of *Rome*; for *Sciarra Colonna* having taken *Paliano*, though it was defended by the Daughter of *Vespasiano* in the Name of the Pontiff, it was recovered by the Abbot of *Farfa*, where *Sciarra* and *Prospero da Gavi* were taken Prisoners, though *Sciarra*, by the Assistance of *Luigi da Gonzaga*, made his Escape.

BUT while the Armies struggled about *Naples* with these Difficulties and these Hopes, *Antonio da Leva* being informed that the City of *Pavia* was but negligently guarded, though it had within it *Pietro da Lungbena* with Four Hundred Horse and a Thousand Foot of the *Venetians*, and *Annibale Pizzinardo*, Governor of *Cremona*, with Three Hundred Foot, whose Business there was to keep the Country beyond

beyond the *Po* in Devotion to the Duke, one Night, on a sudden, scaling the Walls on three Quarters, without being perceived by the Soldiers, made himself Master of the Place by Assault, taking Prisoners *Pietro da Lungbena*, and a Son of *Janus Fregoso*. From thence *Antonio da Leva* marched to *Biagrassa*, where the Garrison after a very few Cannon Shot surrendered; and designing afterwards to proceed to *Arona*, *Federigo Buonromei* entered into an Agreement with him, obliging himself to follow the Party of *Cæsar*.

A. D.
1528.

Antonio da Leva surprises *Parvia*;

AT this Juncture the Duke of *Brunswick*, proceeding from *Trento*, had on the 9th of *May* passed the *Adice* with an Army, in which were Ten Thousand Foot, and Six Hundred Horse well armed, among them many Noblemen, and being repulsed at *Chiusa*, he had descended into the *Veronese*. And though, his Coming being known long before, it had been resolved that *St. Pol* should march to oppose him, yet, no greater Diligence being used in this than in other Provisions, the Germans

Duke of *Brunswick* with an Army in *Italy*.

A. D. ^{1528.} *mans* were in *Italy* before *St. Pol* was disposed to put himself in Motion; and he was afterwards necessitated to sojourn many Days in *Asti*, to assemble the Troops, and on account of the Difficulty of Victuals, of which there was in all *Italy*, and especially in *Lombardy*, a very great Dearth.

His Pro-
gress. No greater or more ready Assistance could be expected to the common Cause than from the *Venetian* Senate; but tho' they had declared that they would take the Field with an Army of Twelve Thousand Men, yet the Duke of *Urbino* entered into *Verona*, and had no other Thoughts but of defending the most important Towns of their State. The *Germans*, therefore, descending to the Lake of *Garda* took Possession of *Peschiera* by Capitulation, and the same Day also of *Rivolta* and *Lunata*; so that having the Command of almost the whole Lake, they exacted Sums of Money from several Places, and burnt those that were unable to redeem themselves. *Antoniotto Adorno*, who had repaired to that Army, stimulated them to march towards *Genoa*; but as they had no Money,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

27

Money, and laboured under many Difficulties, and wanted a Conference with *Antonio da Leva*, who had set out from *Milan* for that Purpose, they marched slowly through the *Brescian*, where they expected to meet with *Andrea di Burgos*, and General *George*, by whose Mediation it was doubted that the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, in so great a Fear of the others, had made no Provision, would hold some secret Negotiation with them. The *Germans* directed their March towards the *Adda* to join with *Antonio da Leva*, who, having on the 9th Day of *June* passed the River *Adda* with Six Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, and encamped near them at the Distance of Three Miles from *Bergamo* (into which City the Duke of *Urbino* was come from *Brescia*, after he had distributed his Troops into *Brescia* and *Verona*) persuaded them, from an exttreme Desire which he had to recover *Lodi*, to employ themselves in recovering the State of *Milan* before they passed to *Naples*.

A. D.

1528.

THUS

A. D.

1528.

Lays Siege
to Lodi.

THUS on the 20th Day of *June* the Germans sat down before *Lodi*, in which City the Duke of *Milan*, who was retired to *Brescia*, had left *Giampaolo*, his natural Brother, with less than Three Thousand Foot. The Besiegers having planted Batteries on two Quarters, which did great Execution, *Antonio da Leva*, who was to give the first Assault, caused the *Spanish* Foot to approach the main Breach. The *Spaniards* fought Three Hours with great Fierceness and Obstinacy, but, the *Italian* Foot which were in Garrison no less distinguishing themselves by their Valour and Constancy, they were at last repulsed, and, laying aside all further Thoughts of winning the Place by Storm, placed all their Hopes in reducing it by Famine. For the Harvest not being yet gathered, and Bread no more distributed to any but the Soldiers, the Inhabitants of the Town must of necessity die of Hunger, or depart out of the Place with very great Danger.

BUT

BUT the Plague was already got among the *Germans*, and there being a Scarcity also in the Army, many deserted the Service, and returned to their own Country through the Dominions of the *Swiss* and of the *Grisons*, the Duke of *Brunswick* their General not being very diligent to prevent them. For having conceived vast Hopes when in *Germany*, from the Example of the Foot conducted by *George Fronsberg*, he found Affairs in *Italy* to succeed with more Difficulty than he had imagined. Money also being wanting, it was in a manner impossible for him to keep his Troops firm before *Lodi*, much less to conduct them to the Kingdom of *Naples*. Nor did *Antonio da Leva* supply him with any Money, but, on the contrary, deprived him of all Hopes from that Quarter by continual Complaints of the Poverty of *Milan*. For *Antonio*, after he had lost all Hope of recovering *Lodi*, never thought, nor was intent on any thing but to give the *Germans* Cause to leave the Country, being apprehensive that they would take up their Quarters in that State,

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1528.

State, and so become Sharers with him in the Government and in the Spoil ; and, while they were losing their Time, he took care to have the Wheat and Oats in all the State of *Milan* threshed out, and the Harvest carried to *Milan*. At last, on the 13th Day of *July*, when a fresh Assault was to be given to *Lodi*, the *Germans* mutinied, and a Thousand of them went off towards *Como*, the others, who remained in very great Disorder, drew off their Cannon from before *Lodi*.

Siege
raised.

THE Marquis *del Guallo* therefore, hearing that the *Germans* would return home, having obtained Liberty of *Andrea Doria* for Ten Days upon his Parole, repaired to *Milan* to persuade *Brunswick* to prevent his Soldiers from returning into *Germany*. But as they were not to be amused with Words, they took their March homewards by the Way of *Como*, there remaining with *Antonio da Leva*, to whom about this Time *Mortara* had surrendered, about Two Thousand, it being certain that, if they had stayed some Days longer,

Germans
return
home.

longer, they must have taken *Lodi* for A. D. 1528.
Want of Provisions.

IN this Expedition many wanted the Duke of *Urbino* to be more ready and careful, while the Enemy was employed in the Siege of *Lodi*, to move and post himself near *Crema* or *Pizzichitone*, or, at least, to have kept there a Number of Light Horse to infest them; though, it is true, when they were in the *Brescian*, he had sometimes moved along by them, and harassed them, yet never approaching them within the Distance of Three Miles, but, contenting himself with defending the State of the *Venetians*, never passed the River *Oglio*.

NOR was M. de *St. Pol* more ready or expeditious in his Passage; for, notwithstanding all the Designs and Promises of the King to send, for his own Interest, a Body of Troops against the *Germans*, *St. Pol* did not arrive in *Piedmont* but at the Time when the *Germans* were on their March homewards, and that too with a much

A. D. much lesser Number than they had
 152 published.

Pope's
 Reasons
 for not ac-
 ceding to
 the
 League.

THE Confederates, however, did not cease soliciting the Pontiff afresh to declare for them, and to proceed against *Cæsar* with spiritual Arms by depriving him of the Empire and of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Pontiff, after alledging in Excuse that by declaring for them he should disqualify himself for a Mediator of Peace ; that his Declaration would excite greater Broils between Christian Princes, without any Advantage to the Allies, on account of his Poverty and Impotence ; and that the Reputation of *Cæsar* would put all *Germany*, in a Commotion, out of a Jealousy that he intended to assume to himself the Authority of electing an Emperor, and that he would chuse the King of *France*, represented the imminent Danger from the *Lutherans*, who were continually spreading themselves. At last, being no longer able to resist their Instances, he offered himself ready to enter into the League, provided that the *Venetians* restored to him *Ravenna*, a Condition proposed

posed by him as impossible, offering also A. D.
1528. to be obliged not to molest the State of *Florence*. Wherefore on the 20th Day of *June* the Ambassadors of the King of *England* arrived at *Venice*, to make Instances with that Senate for the Restitution of *Ravenna*, engaging for the Pontiff's Observance of his Promises; but, not being able to obtain their Request, they departed in Dissatisfaction. At this time the Pontiff recovered *Rimini*, which, having been He reco-
vers Ri-
mini, in vain before attempted by *Giovanni da Sassatello*, was at last surrendered on condition of Safety to Persons and Effects.

BUT now began to be discovered, as Seeks the
Restora-
tion of his
Family to
Florence
by various
Ways. being no longer capable of Diffimulation, the Pontiff's most profound and hidden Projects, which he had before concealed with a Multiplicity of Arts. For having deeply fixed in his Mind a longing Desire to restore his Family to their Greatness in *Florence*, he had endeavoured, by publicly declaring in the most positive and serious Manner the contrary, to persuade the *Florentines* that nothing was more remote from his Thoughts, and that all he

A. D.
1528.

desired was that the Republic, after the Example of other Christian Princes, should acknowledge him as Pontiff; and that in private Affairs they should not persecute his Friends and Dependants, nor remove the proper Ornaments and Ensigns of his Family. With this Message he had, as soon as he was set at Liberty, sent to *Florence* a *Florentine* Prelate as his Ambassador, who not obtaining Audience, he had made many Instances, and by the Mediation of the King of *France*, that they would send an Ambassador to him, endeavouring, by removing their Suspicions, and dealing openly and candidly with them, to render them more heedless, and liable to fall into his Snares. But having in vain tryed these Methods, he endeavoured to persuade *Lautrech* that those who had the Management of Affairs in *Siena* being Dependents on *Cæsar*, it would be expedient for his Affairs to restore to that City *Fabio Petrucci*. But though *Lautrech* was convinced that the Pontiff had Reasons for what he said, he forbore to act in it out of Complaisance to the *Florentines*. The Pontiff not succeeding this Way,

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Way, he operated in secret that *Pirro da Castel di Piero*, on pretence of Grievances from the *Senese*, should, by means of some Exiles of *Chiusi*, with Eight Hundred Men seize on that Town, as convenient for distressing the Government of *Siena*. But the *Florentines* having convinced the Viscount of *Turenne*, the *French* Ambassador, that the Pope had no other End in View, than to disturb, by the Commodiousness of *Siena* for that Purpose, the Affairs of *Florence*, the Ambassador prevailed with the Pontiff that the Attempt on *Chiusi* should be laid aside.

THE Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples* at this Time proceeded with various Success; for the Count *di Burella* was arrived from *Sicily* in *Calabria* with a Thousand Foot, and had joined the others: On the other Side *Simone Romano* had by mining got the Castle of *Cosenza* surrendered to him at Discretion; though his being wounded there with the Shot of a Harquebuss in the Shoulder retarded in some measure the Course of the Victory. Afterwards joining with the Duke of

Progress of the War in the Kingdom of Naples.

A. D. Somma, who with the Troops of the

1528.

Country besieged *Catanzaro*, a very strong Town, but in extreme Want of Provisions, and garrisoned with Two Hundred Horse and a Thousand Foot under *Alarcone's* Son-in-law, they became Masters of the Place, and by that means of all the Country as far as the Upper *Calabria*. But Necessity now constrained them to turn their Arms against the Troops joined with those from *Sicily*, which had already made some Progress. But *Simone*, being deserted by a Part of his Peasant Infantry, was necessitated to retire to the Castle of *Cosenza*; and the rest of his Foot, after some of them had been killed, dispersed themselves, and the *Corficans* were retreating towards the Army; so that not only *Calabria* was left in Danger, but it was feared that the Conquerors would direct their March towards *Naples*. But, on the contrary, the Affairs of the *French* met with prosperous Success in the *Abruzzi*, where the Bishop *Colonna* having advanced within Twelve Miles of *Aquila*, in order to excite an Insurrection in the *Abruzzi*, was routed and killed by the Abbot of *Farfa*,

Farfa, Four Hundred of his Men being slain, and about Eight Hundred taken Prisoners. About *Gaeta* the *Spaniards* were continually on the Retreat by the Arrival of the Prince of *Melfi*, and those of *Manfredonia*, through the little military Virtue of the *Venetian* Troops, did considerable Damage.

A. D.
1528.

THE Pontiff at this time persevered in his Resolution of declaring for no Party; but, because he held different Negotiations, was suspected by the King of *France*, and not in favour with *Cæsar*, if on no other Account, yet because he had appointed Cardinal *Campeggio* his Legate in *England* to debate in that Island the Cause delegated to him and to the Cardinal of *York*. For that King making Instances for a Declaration of the Invalidity of his first Marriage, the Pontiff, who had gone great Lengths in Words with his Ministers, because finding himself in little Credit with the other Princes he was willing to preserve his Patronage, caused to be drawn up very secretly a decretal declaratory Bull that the Marriage was invalid, which he gave to Cardinal *Campeggio*, and

Marriage] of *Henry* VIII.
try'd by Delegates.

A. D.
1528.

charged him to shew it to the King and to the Cardinal of *York*, and say that he had Orders to publish it if the Tryal of the Cause had not a happy Issue in the Court of Justice, with a View that they might the more easily consent to hear the Examination in a judicial Way, and might the more patiently bear with the Length of the Tryal, which he had ordered Cardinal *Campeggio* to prolong as much as possible, and not to give the Bull without fresh Instructions from him ; but he endeavoured to persuade him (as it is also likely that it was at that time in his Thoughts) that his Intention was that it should be given at last. Of this Destination of the Legate, and Delegation of the Cause, the *Cæsarean* Ambassador made heavy Complaints in *Rome*, but with the less Authority, because of the bad Aspect of the Affairs of *Cæsar* in the *Neapolitan* Kingdom.

BUT about *Naples* many Difficulties discovered themselves on both Sides, but such as, when all the Reasons were collected, seemed to turn the Scale in favour of the *French*, whose Victory was retarded by

by the Valour and Obstinacy of the Enemy. For in *Naples* the Dearth increased daily, especially of Wine and Flesh, nothing any longer entering the Place by Sea, since the Gallies of the *Venetians*, in Number Twenty-two, were, after a long Expedition, on the 10th Day of *June*, arrived in the Bay of *Naples*. For though the Cavalry of the Garrison sallied out continually, not towards the Army, but into those Parts where they expected to find Provisions, and almost constantly returned with Booties, especially of Flesh, yet, tho' they were of great Service, they were not so plentiful as to afford Subsistence for any Length of Time without the Benefit of the Sea. The Besieged were, besides, afflicted with a great Plague, a Want of Money, and a Difficulty of keeping up the *German* Foot, who were many times deluded with vain Hopes and Promises, and some of them went off by Files to the *French* Army; though the Favour and Authority which the Prince of *Orange*, to whom the Death of Don *Ugo* had left the Authority of Viceroy, had gained with them, were of great Efficacy to retain them. That

A. D.
1528.Hardships
in *Naples*.

A D. Prince put under Confinement *Catta*,
 1528. a *Gascon* Officer of the Remains of the
 Duke of *Bourbon*, with many of his Men,
 and a little after, out of a vain Suspicion,
 did the like by *Fabritio Maramaus*, tho'
 he soon set him at Liberty.

Sickness
 raging in
 the French
 Camp

ON the other side Diseases continually
 increased in the *French* Army; for which
 reason *Lautrech*, that he might not have so
 great a Space to guard, did not proceed to
 perfect the last Intrenchment, which was
 also difficult to be finished on account of
 an Impediment from certain Waters which
 the Workmen had cut. There was also a
 Dearth in the Army, but more for Want
 of Order than from any other Cause.
Lautrech, however, had more Hope in
 the Necessities of *Naples* than Fear of Dif-
 ficulties, and either for that Reason, per-
 suading himself that he should soon finish
 the Conquest, or for want of Money,
 made no new Levies of Foot, as was de-
 sired by the whole Army, on account of
 the Dead and Sick not only among those
 of lower Rank, and private Soldiers, but
 among great Persons, and Men of Au-
 thority;

thority ; for on the 15th Day of *June* died *A. D.*
the Pope's Nuncio, and *Luigi Pisano*, the *1528.*
Venetian Proveditor. He was also in
Hopes of getting over to his Army all, or
the greatest Part of the *Germans* in *Naples* ;
a Project, in which the Marquis of *Saluzzo*,
and afterwards he himself had a
long time vainly confided. The same
Reasons, and the Hopes that were given
him of causing a Desertion of some Light
Horse in *Naples* to his Army, withheld
him from lifting Light Horse, so highly
necessary, and which, had he listed at
least Four Hundred, would have done
him very great Service. For the Cavalry
of the Besieged ranged at Liberty ; tho'
returning one Day to *Naples* with a great
Body of Cattle, and falling in with the
Black Bands, which were the Sinews of
the Army, and without which it could
not have lain before *Naples*, it was taken
from them with the Loss of about Sixty
Horse, in spite of the *Spaniards*, who all
sallied out of *Naples*, but too late, to suc-
cour them,

LAUTRECH

A. D.

1528.

Siege of
Naples.

LAUTRECH expected that the Enemy would soon be necessitated to abandon *Naples*, and, therefore, resolving to deprive them of the Means of retiring to *Gaeta*, he ordered *Capua* and the maritime Town of *Vulturno* to be garrisoned; and to take away from them also the Liberty of retiring into *Calabria*, besides causing certain Passes to be cut, he began afresh to work on the Intrenchment, several times begun, but interrupted by various Accidents, carrying the Bottom now so high, that the Waters, which were an Hindrance, rested underneath. He designed also to fortify a Village very near *Naples*, and to garrison it with a Thousand Foot, which he resolved to list for that Purpose, being favoured besides by the *Venetian* Gallies, that came up directly over against the Intrenchment, which served also for the more convenient Conveyance of Provisions from the Sea Side to the Army, and to cut off the Road from the Enemies when they returned that Way with their Plunder; for, on account of the great Ditches, and the Waters

Waters of *Poggio Reale*, which had been cut, the Way from the Army to the Sea was by a great and dangerous Circuit. The Imperialists attempted to hinder those who worked on the Trenches, for which Purpose having one Day made a very great Sally, the Pioneers, by Order of *Pietro Navarra*, who had the Direction of that Work, betook themselves to Flight, so that the Imperialists unwarily pursuing them were drawn into an Ambush, where they had above an Hundred killed and wounded. The Intrenchment, however, was not as yet half finished, as well for Want of Pioneers, as for another Cause, for Negligence often frustrated the good Orders that were made, which had they been constantly observed, it is the Opinion of many that, on account of the extreme Distress of *Naples*, *Lautrech* would undoubtedly have obtained the Victory.

ABOUT the same time there happened an Opportunity of very great Moment, had the Executors been as good as the Contrivers. *Lautrech* had Intelligence that a very numerous Body of the Garrison of
Naples

A. D.

1528.

Action to
the Ad-
vantage of
the French

Naples was gone out on marauding by the Way of *Piè di Grotta*. Wherefore, that he might oppress them, he sent out, in the Night of the 25th of *June*, the Foot of the Black Bands, the Horse of the *Florentines*, and Sixty *French* Lances, with some Companies of *Swiss* and *Germans*, towards *Belvedere* and *Piè di Grotta*, to meet them; and, to cut off their Retreat, he appointed General *Burie* to post himself with some *Gascon* Foot on a Hill overlooking the *Grotta*, and, as soon as the Alarm was given, to descend, and prevent the Imperialists from entering the *Grotta*. The Beginning of this Action succeeded happily; for the Troops of *Lautrech* meeting the Enemies, engaged and put them to Flight, killing and taking above Three Hundred Men, with an Hundred serviceable Horses, and a great deal of Baggage. Don *Ferrando da Gonzaga* was unhorsed in fighting, and taken Prisoner, but rescued by the Fury of the *Germans*. But General *Burie*, either through Fear or Negligence, did not present himself at the Place appointed, which had he done, that Body of the Enemy, it

is

is believed, would have been all destroyed. A. D.

Lautrech had also sent Six Gallies of the *Venetians* to *Gaeta*, and two of them had stopped at the Mouth of the *Garigliano* to favour the Prince of *Melfi*; and because the Gallies could not hinder the Importation of some Refreshment into *Naples* in Frigates, he put to Sea some small Barks to prevent it. He ordered also that all the Cattle every where should be removed Fifteen Miles from *Naples*, that they might not be so easily carried off by the Imperialists.

1528.

BUT a new Event which discovered itself, and of which had long before appeared some Indication, caused great Perturbation in the *French* Affairs. For *Andrea Doria* resolved to quit the Service of the King of *France*, to which he was obliged till the End of *June*: A Resolution, by what may be conjectured, taken some Months before. Hence it had proceeded that, after he had retired to *Genoa*, he would not go with the Gallies to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and that the King offering him the Command of the Fleet which

Andrea Doria defects the *French*.

A. D.
1528.

The
Reasons.

which was fitting out at *Marfeilles*, he refused it, alledging his Inability through Age to endure any longer such Fatigues. The Origin of such a Resolution was ascribed by himself and others to various Causes. He complained that the King, after he had served him with such great Fidelity for Five Years, had bestowed the Office of Admiral with the Care of the Seas on M. *Barbesieux*, as if he thought it proper that the King, after his Refusal, should make a Reply, and beseech him to accept of it; that he had not paid him the Twenty Thousand Ducats for which he was in Arrears, without which he could not maintain his Gallies; that he had declined to satisfy his just Intreaties to restore the *Genoese* to their accustomed Jurisdiction in *Savona*; and even that it had been debated in the King's Council to have him beheaded, as a Man that proudly used his Authority. Others alledged that the Disputes happening between him and *Renzo da Ceri* in the Enterprize of *Sardinia*, in which he fancied that the King hearken'd more to the Report of *Renzo* than to his Justification, had been the first Origin of his

his Indignation ; that he was provoked at the great Instances made him by the King to deliver him the Prisoners, which he much desired as an Affair of Importance, especially the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and *Aſcanio Colonna*, though with an Offer to pay their Ransom. Theſe and other Cauſes were aſſigned, but it was believed ſince that the truer and principal Reaſon was not ſo much his Reſentment againſt the *French*, for not valuing him, as he imagined, according to his Merit, or any other Cauſe of Diſſatisfaction, as his Sollicitude for the Liberty of *Genoa*, in order to promote, under the Name of the Liberty of his Country, his own Greatneſs, which End unable to attain by any other Method, he had reſolved to ſerve the King no longer, nor to aſſiſt him with his Gallies in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, as he was thought to have propoſed the Enterpriſe on *Sardinia* in order to prevent the Acquiſition of *Sicily*. Fixing his Thoughts therefore on this Project, he treated, by the Mediation of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, about entering into the Service of *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding the great Hatred which he had
for

A. D.
1528.

A. D. ^{1528.} for many Years professed against the *Spanish* Nation in remembrance of their Sacking of *Genoa*, and the Severity with which he had treated as many of them as fell into his Hands. But proceeding with Disimulation his Design was not as yet known to the King, who had therefore taken no Care to procure Remedies in so important a Case, though he had conceived some Suspicion of it. For a Galley was taken which was carrying to *Spain* a *Spaniard*, sent under a Pretence of the Ransom of certain Prisoners, about whom was found a credential Letter of *Andrea Doria* to *Cæsar*, though, on account of his great Complaints, he was permitted to continue his Voyage without Examination. At last, *Barbesieux* being arrived with Fourteen Gallies at *Savona*, *Andrea Doria*, in Fear of him, retired with his Gallies to *Genoa*, and with the Prisoners to *Lerice*. As soon as the King understood what had happened, sensible of the Danger when it was become irremediable, he sent to him *Pierfrancesco da Nocera* to enlist him anew into his Service, offering by him to satisfy his Desire in the Affair of *Savona*; to pay him

Offers
made him

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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him Twenty Thousand Ducats for his ^{A. D.} Arrears; to pay him Twenty Thousand ^{1528.} more for the Ransom of the Prince of *Orange*, taken by him at another Time, and afterwards released by the King when he made the Peace with *Cæsar* at *Madrid*; and if he should please to grant him the Prisoners, he would pay their Ransom before they came out of his Hands, but if he should refuse to grant them, the King would not trouble him on that Score. *Doria* lent no Ear to these Offers, justify-^{rejected.} ing his Separation from the King by Complaints.

BARBESIEUX was forced to remain at *Savona*, to the great Detriment of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*; but ^{Motions of the French Fleet.} afterwards advancing farther, he left Five Hundred Foot for the Security of *Genoa*, at the Distance of Ten Miles from that City, because the Plague raged in it. And for the same Reason he landed Thirty Miles from *Genoa* Twelve Hundred *German* Foot newly arrived, who had received their first Pay from the *French*, but because the *Venetians* had not paid them

A D. the Second, to which they were obliged,
 1528. it was necessary that *Trivulzio*, the Governor of *Genoa*, should provide it.

Pope's
 Advice
 concern-
 ing *Doria*.

IN this Uneasiness of *Doria* the Pontiff, apprehending that he treated with *Cæsar*, on the 21st of *June* intimated the Affair to *Lautrech*, demanding his Consent to take him into his own Service for preventing *Cæsar*, and assuring him that *Filippino* with the Gallies would within Ten Days sail away from *Naples*. Wherefore *Lautrech* restored to *Filippino*, because he would not exasperate him, the Secretary *Serenon*, whom he had always kept with him for the Sake of getting Light from him into many secret Matters; and yet, out of a Suspicion before conceived of the Pontiff, he interpreted his Advice in a malignant Sense.

AT last *Andrea Doria*, no longer dissembling his Intentions, though *Barbe-sieux*, in passing forward with the Fleet, which consisted of Nineteen Gallies, Two Pinnaces, and Four Brigantines, with the Prince of *Navarre* on board, had conferred

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ferred with him, sent his Gentleman to ^{A. D.} *Cæsar*, accompanied by the General of ^{1528.} the *Franciscans*, now created a Cardinal, commissioned by the Pontiff to settle the Articles of Agreement, which were, in ^{Articles of Agree-} substance; the Liberty of *Genoa* under the ^{ment be-} Protection of *Cæsar*; the Subjection of ^{tween} *Savona* to the *Genoese*; a Pardon for himself, ^{Cæsar and} who had been so great a Persecutor of the *Spanish* Name; a Reception into the Service of *Cæsar* with Twelve Gallies, and a yearly Salary of Sixty Thousand Ducats; besides other very honourable Terms.

IN consequence of this Agreement *Filippino*, with all the Gallies, on the ^{*Filippino*} 4th Day of *July*, set sail from *Naples*, ^{sails away} his Departure, if he was to proceed in the ^{from Na-} *Manner* as he had begun, being no way prejudicial to the *French*, except in Reputation, since he had for many Days not only kept a bad Guard, but even his own Brigantines had now and then by Stealth conveyed Provisions into *Naples*; and he himself, besides conferring with some of *Naples*, had carried the Children of *Antonio da Leva* from *Naples* to *Gaeta*, and had

A. D. 1528. for many Days lent Assistance for the Conveyance of Victuals into *Naples*; but if he had served faithfully as he did in the Beginning, the *French* would have received a very great Loss. *Lautrech* therefore with the more Earnestness solicited the Coming of the *French* Squadron, which, by Order of the Pontiff, had, with the highest Imprudence, stopped to take *Civita Vecchia*.

By the Departure of *Filippino* with the Gallies the *Venetian* Fleet, which had taken the Charge of working on the Intrenchment from the Sea Shore till it met the Trenches of *Pietro Navarra*, was necessitated to desist, in order to attend to the Guard of the Sea, to block up which the more effectually, some armed Frigates were appointed to cruise Day and Night along the Coasts; greater Diligence was also used on Land in opposing the *Spaniards*, who made Excursions every Day, but whenever encountered fled away without fighting. Hence *Naples* was reduced to extreme Necessity, and the *Germans* protested they would depart if they were

Naples in
extreme
Distress.

not

not soon relieved with Money and Victuals. *A. D.*
 Wherefore *Lautrech*, supporting himself *1528.*
 in a great measure with Hopes on that
 Account, was persuaded that, from the
 Intelligence which he had long held with
 them Day after Day, they would come
 over to his Army.

BUT on the 15th Day of *July* the *Ve-*
netian Gallies, except those before *Gaeta*,
 returned to *Calabria* to provide themselves
 with Biscuit; the Port therefore remain-
 ing open, there entered *Naples* a Multitude
 of Frigates laden with all Sorts of Pro-
 visions, except Wine: A very seasonable
 Relief, for there was not Corn enough in
Naples to last out *July*. But in the Army,
 into which the Plague was also brought
 by Contagion from the People which came
 out of *Naples*, the usual Distempers were
 greatly propagated. *Vaudemont* was near
 Death, and *Lautrech* lay ill; by whose
 Sicknefs Things being in Confusion, the
 Imperialists, who scoured all the Roads
 without Obstacle, carried off the Provisions
 that were coming to the Camp, where
 they were greatly wanted. And yet no

French
 weakened
 by Sick-
 ness and
 Desertion.

A. D. 1528. new Levies were made of Light Horſe, nay, *Valerio Orſini*, an Officer of the *Venetians*, with an Hundred Light Horſe, went off from the Army becauſe he was not paid; and the other Light Horſe had Part of them left the Army for want of Pay, and the reſt were rendered unſerviceable by Sickneſs. The *French* Men at Arms were beſtowed in Garrifons in the circumjacent Towns, and the *Gascons*, diſperſed over the Country, were buſied in gathering the Harveſt and plundering.

French
Fleet ar-
rives.

SOME Hopes, however, were placed in the Foot that were ſaid to be on board the Fleet, which, after it had ſtopped above Twenty Days ſince it ſailed from *Livorno*, at laſt arrived on the 18th of *July* with a good Number of Gentlemen, and with Money for the Army, but brought only Eighteen Hundred Foot, for the reſt which it carried had remained ſome of them for the Security of *Genoa*, and others for the Enterpriſe on the Citadel of *Civita Vecchia*. On their Arrival *Lautrech* having ſent ſome Troops to the Shore for receiving the Money, the Gallies

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lies could not come to Land for the Swelling of the Sea. The next Day therefore the Marquis of *Saluzzo* returned thither with his own Lances, and a good Number of *Gascons*, *Swiss*, and *Germans*, besides the Black Bands. But in their Return they were met by the Imperialists, who had marched in a large Body out of *Naples*, and charged so vigorously that the *French* Horse turned their Backs, and in their Flight fell in upon their own Foot, so as to put them in Disorder: And Count *Ugo de' Peppoli*, who, since the Death of *Oratio Baglione*, had the Command of the *Florentine* Forces, being on Foot with Forty Harquebusiers at the Distance of a Harquebus-shot before the Regiment of the Black Bands, was taken Prisoner by the Horse; and such was the Fury of the Imperialists, that, if the Regiment of the Black Bands had not restrained them, they would have made a great Slaughter, for they fought, especially the Horse, extremely well. The *French* had above an Hundred killed, and as many taken, among whom were several *French* Noblemen just landed from the Fleet, besides

A. D.
1528.

Action to
the Dis-
advantage
of the
French.

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Chandales Nephew to the Marquis of *Salluzzo*; but the Money was conveyed in Safety. The Disorder was ascribed to the *French* Horse, as much inferior in Valour to those of the Enemy; and this sunk the Spirits of the Infantry of the Army, who were sensible that they could not depend on being supported by the Cavalry,

Miserable
State of
the *French*
Camp.

BUT the Sickness of *Lautrech* had been highly detrimental to the Army; for though he endeavoured to support the Weakness of his Body by the Strength of his Mind, yet he could neither inspect nor provide for all Affairs, which were continually on the Decline. For the Imperialists making Excursions not only provided themselves with all Necessaries, except Wine, which they could not convey, but frequently took away Provisions from the Army, seized the Baggage, and the Fellows that looked after it on the very Ramparts, and Horses at the Watering-Place; so that the Army, which was much diminished by Distempers, began to want Necessaries, and from besieging became besieged, and in danger, if a
Guard

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Guard had not been set at the Passes, of ^{A. D.} ^{1528.} having the Foot all run away ; and, on the contrary, in *Naples* the Hopes increased with the Conveniencies, the *Germans* were no longer tumultuous, and the others gloried in their Sufferings.

SUCH manifest Dangers proving at last too hard for the Obstinacy of *Lautrech*, ^{*Lautrech*} ^{orders} who a few Days before had sent to *France* ^{new} ^{Levies.} for a Reinforcement of Six Thousand Foot to be transported by Sea, he ordered *Renzo da Ceri*, who was come with the Fleet, towards *Aquila*, that he might levy Four Thousand Foot, and Six Hundred Horse, giving him Bills on the Treasurer of *Aquila* and the *Abruzzi* ; a Reinforcement which *Renzo* engaged to bring to the Camp in a few Days, and which, if provided at first, would have been of the highest Service.

By the 29th the Roads were so broken and spoiled as to become almost impracticable as far as *Capua*, which the *French* had at their Backs ; and the Camp had very few sound Persons in it. *Lautrech*, who had been relieved from his Fever, relapsed

A. D. 1528. relapsed into a worse Disorder than usual ; the Men at Arms were almost all dispersed into Country Houses, either because they were sick, or to refresh themselves under that Pretence ; and the Foot were almost reduced to nothing : And at *Naples* the Plague and other Distempers, by which the Foot had been reduced to Seven Thousand, being on the Decline, it was feared that the Enemy would assault the Camp. *Lautrech* therefore ordered the Five Hundred Foot, sent by *Renzo* after the Defeat of *Simone Romano*, to stop for preventing the March of the Enemy from *Calabria* towards *Naples* ; he sent about the Country to raise a Thousand more ; he took into Pay the Duke of *Nola* with Two Hundred Light Horse, and *Rinuccio da Farnese* with an Hundred, and they promised to bring them speedily ; he sent for Two Hundred Stradiotti of the *Venetians* from the Enterprize on *Taranto* ; he recalled, under grievous Penalties, all the Men at Arms that were in Health, was every Day stimulating *Renzo*, and pushed forward, though late, with very great Eagerness and Efficacy all the Provisions.

His vain
Efforts.

By

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1528.

By the 2d of *August* there were not so much as an Hundred Horse in the *French* Camp, and the Imperialists were every Day making Excursions up to the Trenches; and the Night before they had scaled and sacked *Somma*, where was a Number of Men at Arms and of Light Horse. *Lautrech*, therefore, seeing himself in a manner besieged, solicited *St. Pol* to send him some Troops by Sea, and the *Florentines* to order the Two Thousand Foot which they had appointed to send to *St. Pol*, to march to his Assistance; and they readily consented to it. There died in the Camp *Chandales*, who was at Liberty on his Parole; there lay ill *Navarra*, *Vaudemont*, *Camillo da Trivulzi*, and the new and old Camp-Masters; *Lautrech* was relapsed; all the Ambassadors, all the Secretaries, and all the Men of Note, except *Saluzzo* and Count *Guido*, were sick, and there was hardly a sound Person in all the Camp. The Foot died of Hunger, and almost all the Cisterns failing they suffered also for want of Water; nor was the Army capable of any thing but keeping its Station within

Great
Mortality
and Sick-
ness
among the
French.

A. D. within its Fortifications with a good Guard
 1528. in expectation of Succours; the Disorders
 were increased also by Negligence. The
Spaniards also broke the Aqueduct of *Pog-*
gio Reale, and, though it was repaired,
 it was not used without great Danger.
Lautrech expected in Two Days the Duke
 of *Somma* with Fifteen Hundred Foot,
 and in a short time the Abbot of *Farfa*,
 whom, after he had defeated Bishop *Co-*
lonna, the General had sent to call.

Venetian
Gallies re-
turn ill
provided.

AT this time returned the Gallies
 of the *Venetians*, very ill armed, and
 so badly provided with Victuals, that
 they were obliged to abandon the Care of
 guarding the Port of *Naples*, and cruise
 on the neighbouring Coasts for procuring
 a Subsistence.

ON the 8th the *Spaniards* returning
 to *Somma* plundered it anew, and took all
 the rest of the Horse that Count *Guido* had
 there in Garrison. They attacked also
 the Convoy of Provisions escorted by Two
 Hundred *Germans*, who flying into two
 Houses basely surrendered; hence frequently
 there

there was nothing in the Camp to eat. A. D. 1528.
And all these Inconveniencies were increased by the large Circuit of the Camp, which had been judged too great from the very Beginning: It caused Danger, and wasted the Troops by occasioning too many Actions; and yet *Lautrech*, amusing himself with Hopes of Succours, would not hear any speak of reducing it within narrower Limits; and, though he was not well recovered, he went about and visited the whole Camp for maintaining Orders and Guards, fearing to be attacked.

AFFAIRS declined daily, so that on the 15th, through the Superiority of the Imperial Cavalry, there was no longer any Communication between the Camp and the Gallies; nor could those of the Camp make Excursions out of the Roads for want of Horse, and not a Night passed without giving them two or three Alarms. Wherefore the Men, quite worn out with such great Fatigues and Inconveniencies, were incapable of going on Escorts of Provisions as much as was required; and, for an Aggravation of all the Disorders, the
same

A. D. 1528. same Night coming the 16th died *Lautrech*, on whose Authority and military Skill the whole Service depended, it being verily believed that his great Fatigues renewed his Disorder.

Doria arrives at *Gasta*.

THE Burden of the Command now rested on the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, a Man unequal to so great a Charge; and, Disorders multiplying every Day, *Andrea Doria*, in the Service of *Cæsar*, arrived with Twelve Gallies at *Gaeta*, whence the French Fleet began to slacken their Guard. The Count *di Sarni* about this time with a Thousand Spanish Foot took *Sarni*, driving away Three Hundred Foot that were quartered there. After this, on the 22d of *August*, he marched with a greater Force by Night to *Nola*, and took it, *Valerio Orsino*, the Governor, retiring into the Citadel, saying, he was deceived by the Peasants; and having sent to *Saluzzo* for Succours, he ordered him Two Thousand Foot, which marching by Night, were attacked by the Troops of *Naples*, and routed.

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ON the 22d the Camp, being in a manner without Troops, and without a Commander, was supported only by the Hopes of the Coming of *Renzo*, who was still at *Aquila*, and was no longer wanted for taking *Naples*, or from Hopes of being enabled to make a Defence in that Situation, but only for procuring a safe Decampment. *Vaudemont* was dead, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, Count *Guido*, Count *Ugo*, and *Pietro Navarra* lay sick. *Maramaus* having marched out of *Naples* with Four Hundred Foot in order to cut off all Provisions from the Camp, and found *Capua* in a manner abandoned, took Possession of it; for which Reason the *French* abandoned *Pozzuolo*, and removed the Garrison to *Aversa*, a Place of great Importance to the Camp. But *Capua* and *Nola* being lost, the Army remained in a manner debarred from all Means of getting Provisions, so that being incapable of supporting themselves any longer, as their last Shift, they decamped one Night in order to retire into *Aversa*. But their Decampment

A. D. 1528. ment being perceived by the Imperialists, who waited for such an Opportunity, they

Marquis
of Saluz-
zo capitu-
lates with
the Impe-
rialists.

were attacked and broken on the Road, where *Pietro Navarra*, with many other Chiefs and Men of Condition were taken Prisoners, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with Part of the Troops retired into *Aversa*. Hither he was followed by the Imperialists, and being unable to defend himself he sent out Count *Guido Rangone* to parley with the Prince of *Orange*, and by his Mediation capitulated with the Prince, agreeing to surrender *Aversa* and its Citadel with the Artillery and Ammunition; that he himself should remain a Prisoner, with the rest of the General Officers, except Count *Guido*, who had his Liberty granted him as a Reward of the Agreement; that the Marquis should use his best Endeavours to induce the *French* and *Venetians* to restore the whole Kingdom; that the Soldiers and others who by this Agreement were to have their Liberty, should leave their Colours, Arms, Horses, and Effects, granting, however, to those of Distinction the Use of small Horses, Pads, Mules, and Beasts of Burden; and that
the

the *Italian* Soldiers should not serve against *Cæsar* for Six Months. Thus were all the Troops put to a general Rout, and all the chief Officers either dead, or taken in the Flight, or remained Prisoners by the Capitulation: *Aversa* was sacked by the Imperial Army, which afterwards retired to *Naples*, demanding Eight Pays. *Renzo*, who the next Day had approached *Capua* with the Prince of *Melfi*, and the Abbot of *Farfa*, apprised of the Event, retired into the *Abruzzi*, which Province alone, with some Towns in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, remained in Subjection to the Confederates.

SUCH was the Issue of the Enterprize on the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had a Multiplicity of Causes to disconcert it, but was reduced to the last Degree of Despair and Ruin principally by two: One was the Sicknels, occasioned in a great measure by cutting the Aqueducts of *Poggio Reale*, to deprive those in *Naples* of the Means of grinding their Corn. For the Water dispersing itself over the Plain, and having no Vent, stagnated, and corrupted the

Causes of
the Mis-
carriage
of the Ex-
pedition to
Naples.

A. D.

1528.

Hence the *French*, who are intemperate, and impatient of Heat, contracted Distempers; to those was added the Plague, the Contagion of which was communicated by some infected Persons sent out of *Naples* into the Army for that very Purpose. The other Cause was that *Lautrech*, who had carried with him from *France* the greater Part of the Officers experienced in Wars, being more sanguine in his Hopes than was convenient, and forgetting that he had, not much to his Honour, when he was employed in defending the State of *Milan*, written to his King that he would prevent the Enemy from passing the River *Adda*, had, during this Siege, often written to him that he would take *Naples*. Wherefore, not to make himself the Falsifier of his own Judgment, he was obstinately bent not to raise the Siege, contrary to the Opinion of the other Generals, who, seeing the Camp full of Diseases, counselled him to retire to *Capua*, or to some other Place of Safety; for, being in Possession of almost the whole Kingdom, he could neither want

Money

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Money nor Provisions, and would have consumed the Imperialists, who were in want of every Thing. A. D. 1528.

DURING these Transactions the Affairs of *Lombardy* were not free from Disquietude; for *St. Pol* having assembled his Forces, and provided himself with Victuals, took some Towns and Castles on the other Side of the *Po*, which had before been in the Possession of *Antonio da Leva*, who, on the 3d of *August*, was at *Torreta*, intent on conveying all the Provisions he could get together into *Milan*; for the Harvest had been so bad in all that State, that it was judged insufficient to subsist only the Country People for above Eight Months. After this he retired to *Marignano*, but could not stay long in that Place neither, for want of Money. At this time the Duke of *Urbino* was still at *Brescia*, and *St. Pol* at *Castel nuovo di Tortona*, from whence he came to *Piacenza*, and on the 11th Day they had a Conference at *Monticelli* on the *Po*, where it was resolved that the Armies should join together about *Lodi*. *St. Pol* afterwards passed the

A. D. ^{1528.} *Pol* near *Cremona*, the *Piacentines* consenting to his taking their Boats for making a Bridge. Wherefore *Antonio da Leva*, who had a Bridge at *Casciano*, and commanded *Caravaggio* and *Trevi*, removed the Bridge, and abandoned the Places of the *Ghiaradadda*, as he had before abandoned *Novara*; but he had put Seven Hundred Foot into *Pavia*, and Five Hundred into *Sant' Angelo*.

ST. POL had Four Hundred Lances, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Fifteen Hundred German Foot, in the List of Pay, but thro' his own Negligence, and the Fraud of his Agents, the Number was much less. For these Forces, and for other *Germans* and *Swiss* that were expected, the *Venetians* had agreed to pay Twelve Thousand Ducats monthly to *St. Pol*, who had also Three Hundred *Swiss* at *Turea* paid for Nine Hundred, and Three Thousand *French* Foot. The *Venetians* had Three Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand Light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot; and the Duke of *Milan* had above Two Thousand choice Foot.

Leva's

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Leva's Force consisted of Four Thousand *A. D.*
Germans, One Thousand *Spaniards*, Three ^{1528.}
 Thousand *Italians*, and Three Hundred
 Light Horse.

THE Troops of the Confederates pass-
 ed the *Adda*, and joined on the 22d of ^{Motions}
August, *Antonio da Leva* still keeping his ^{of the Al-}
 Post at *Marignano*. From their Camp the ^{lies.}
 Duke of *Urbino* detached Three Thou-
 sand Foot, and Three Hundred Light
 Horse, with Six Pieces of Cannon to *Sant'*
Angelo, under the Command of *Giovanni*
di Naldo, who, in pitching his Camp, was
 killed by a Cannon Shot; wherefore the
 Duke repaired thither in Person, and made
 himself Master of the Place. On the
 25th of *August* the Forces of the Allies
 encamped at *San Zenone* on the River
Lambro, two Miles and a Half from
Marignano. On the 27th they passed the
Lambro, and approached *Marignano*, on
 which the *Spaniards* retired into *Marigna-*
no, to an old Fortification, and after a
 Skirmish of several Hours, drew out into
 the Field, with a Design, as it was sup-
 posed, to give Battle; but, after the Can-
 E 3 non

A. D. 1528. non had played from all Quarters for the Space of an Hour, Night approaching, they retired into *Marignano* and *Riozzo*, and made a brave Attack on the Allies, while they were forming their Camp. The next Day *Antonio da Leva* retired with all his Troops to *Milan*, and the Confederates to *Landriano*. After this a Consultation was held on the Expediency of making an Attempt to force *Milan*, and while the Point was under Debate, the Army put themselves on a March with a Design to enter *Milan* by Surprise, which was prevented by a great Rain, that rendered the Road so bad, as to obstruct all Access to the Gate of *Vercelli*, where the Entrance was to be made. Disappointed therefore of this Design, and convinced by the Report of those who had been sent to reconnoitre *Milan*, that such an Enterprize was impracticable, it was resolved, since nothing else could be done, to march, by the Road of *Biagrassa*, to besiege *Pavia*, in hopes to take it with Ease, because the Garrison consisted of no more than Two Hundred *German* and Eight Hundred *Italian* Foot. The Confederates

federates then taking their March that Way, some Foot, advancing beyond the *Tesino*, took *Vigevano*, and, on the 9th Day of *September*, *St. Pol* arrived at *Sant' Aleſſo*, Three Miles from *Pavia*, where both the Armies drawing together, arrived Advices which threw them into a greater Diſpute.

A. D.
1528.

FOR a very great Plague raging in *Genoa*, which occasioned that City to be abandoned by almost all its Inhabitants, and by the Soldiers, very few of whom remained, and *Teodoro* the Governor himself being retired into the Castle on account of the same Danger, *Andrea Doria*, taking this Opportunity, approached the City with some Gallies, tho', as he had no more than Five Hundred Foot, with little Hopes of forcing it. But the *French* Squadron which was in the Port, apprehensive of having their Passage to *France* intercepted, without taking any Care of *Genoa*, set Sail for *Savona*, where the first that arrived was the Galley of *Barbesieux*. Hence the City having but few Soldiers in it, tho' *Teodoro* had re-

A. D. 1528. turned to live in the Palace, and the People hating the Name of the *French*, on account of the Injury done them in giving Liberty to *Savona*, *Doria* entered the Place with little Opposition.

Cause of
that Loss
to the
French.

THE Cause of so great a Loss was the Negligence, and too great Confidence and Security of the King, who not imagining his Affairs in the Kingdom of *Naples* so near to Ruin, and persuading himself that, at all Events, the Retreat of his Fleet to *Genoa*, with the Neighbourhood of *St. Pol*, were sufficient to secure it, omitted making the necessary Provisions in the Place. *Teodoro*, having retired into the Castle, demanded Succours of *St. Pol*, giving Hopes of recovering the Town, if there were immediately sent to him Three Thousand Foot. The Generals of the Confederates, taking the Point into Consideration, the *French* were disposed to march thither directly, with the whole Camp, and the Duke of *Urbino* represented that to provide themselves with Boats for laying a Bridge over the *Po*, and with sufficient Store of Victuals,

would

would take up a longer Time than the present Neceſſity required. Wherefore it was reſolved, purſuant to his Counſel, that *Montjean* ſhould turn his March from *Aleſſandria* to *Genoa*, with Three Thouſand *German* and *Swiſs* Foot, who were coming from *France* to reinforce *St. Pol*, and were arrived at *Aleſſandria*; and, if he found them unwilling to go, he ſhould conduct them to the Camp, from whence Three Thouſand other Foot ſhould be ſent in their Room; and that, in the mean time, all Diligence ſhould be uſed for ſtraitening *Pavia*: And the *Vene- tians* gave Aſſurances that, even if *Pavia* ſhould not be taken, they would march with all their Forces to the Relief of *Genoa*, provided they might reſt ſecure of Affairs on that Quarter.

THE Siege of *Pavia* was then continued, for which Purpoſe, on the 14th, a Battery of Nine Cannon had been erected by the *Teſino*, on this Side, in a Plain, at the lower Quarters, which played on a Baſtion contiguous to the Arſenal, and in a few Hours reduced it half

A. D.
1528.

Siege of
Pavia.

A. D.

1528.

half to Rubbish. On the other Side the *Tesino* were planted Three Cannon, for battering a Flank answering to the Arsenal, when the Assault should be given ; and on an Eminence, on this Side the *Tesino*, were Five Cannon, which played at Two other Bastions, and at the Point of that Eminence were Three others, which battered the Wall ; all this Artillery belonging to the *Venetians*, that of *St. Pol* serving to ruin the Defences. The next Day *Annibale*, Governor of *Cremona*, had carried a Trench to the Ditch of the Bastion, on the Side of the Arsenal, which was above Two Thirds beaten down, so that the Besieged had in a manner abandoned it ; and the same Day *Malatesta da Sogliano*, a *Venetian* Commander, was killed with a Cannon Ball. The Batteries having thus continued playing all the Day, and the following Night, the Army was prepared to give the Assault, sufficient Breaches being made in the Wall on all Sides of the Three Bastions. But attempting in the Morning to drain the Ditches of the Water, they found their Work obstructed by a Wall of such Solidity,

dity, that they spent all that Day and also the next about it, for the Assault was deferred till the 19th, when the Water was almost all drained. On that Day the Besiegers having, as soon as it was light, possessed themselves of the Bastion at the Corner, began the Assault in Three Places, the first consisting of the *Venetian* Troops, under the Command of *Antonio da Castello*; the Second of those of *St. Pol*, led by *de Lorges*; the last of the Troops of *Milan*, which were Twelve Hundred Foot, commanded by the Governor of *Cremona*; and the Duke of *Urbino* put himself on Foot with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and attacked the Bastions. The Defendants, consisting of Two Hundred *Germans*, and Eight Hundred *Italians*, with a few *Spaniards*, made a brave Resistance for above Two Hours; but being few in Number, tho' they behaved extremely well, they defended themselves with Difficulty, especially as the Artillery planted on the other Side the *Tesino* scoured all their Works. In the Assault *Pietro da Birago* received a Shot in the Thigh, of which he died a few

A. D. few Days after, but refused to be carried
 1528. off, that his Men might not abandon
 the Attack. *Pietro Botticella* was also
 wounded with the Shot of a Harquebuss,
 and left the Assault; they were both Officers
 in the Service of the Duke of *Milan*.
 At last, about Two Hours before Night,
 the Place was entered with little Loss, and
 with great Praise to the Duke of *Urbino*.
 Of the Besieged were killed between Six
 and Eight Hundred Soldiers, among whom
 were almost all the *Germans*; but when
 the Army had forced an Entrance, *Gale-
 azzo da Birago*, with all the Soldiers that
 remained alive, and many of the Towns-
 men, retired into the Castle. The whole
 City was put to the Sack, but afforded
 no great Booty, being the poor Remains
 of Two preceding Sackages. The Castle
 was admitted to capitulate, because it was
 necessary to batter it, and there was no
 Ammunition in the Camp, and the
 Ditches were of so great a Breadth and
 Depth, as not to be soon filled, and there
 were Five Hundred disciplined Men in the
 Place. The Conditions were, that the
Spaniards, with what Artillery and Am-
 munition

Town
 taken by
 Storm.

Castle sur-
 rendered
 on Articles

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munition they could draw by Strength of Arm, and with all their Movables, together with the *Germans*, of whom very few remained, should have Leave to depart thence to *Milan*, and the *Italians* to go to any Place, *Milan* excepted.

A. D.
1528.

PAVIA being taken, the Duke of *Urbino's* Counsel was not to think of forcing *Milan*, because such an Enterprize required an Army sufficient for Two Attacks, but to straiten and greatly endamage it by taking *Biagrasa*, *San Giorgio*, *Moncia*, and *Como*, and to consider of some effectual Means for the Relief of *Genoa*; for tho' the *Germans* and *Swiss* had answered *Montjean* that they were willing to go to *Genoa*, yet the *Germans*, because they were not paid, went away to *Turea*, so that no Succour at all was sent to the *Castelletto*, where *Andrea Doria* was incessantly employed in mining. Wherefore *St. Pol* with Two Hundred Lances, and Two Thousand Foot, which had remained with him, set out on the 27th on his March towards *Genoa*, and passed the *Po* at *Porto Stella*, in the Mouth of the
Tesino,

A. D. *Tesino*, on the Road to *Tortona*, promising
 1528. to return back if he should find that
St. Pol Relief was impracticable; and in the mean
marches time the Duke of *Urbino* was to wait at
to relieve *Parvia*, with whom had remained Four
Genoa. Thousand Foot of the *Venetians*, and One
 Thousand of the Duke of *Milan*.

PoliticEx- A T this Time *Antonio da Leva*, after
 pedient of his Retreat to *Milan*, prohibited all Peo-
Leva. ple from making Bread, or keeping Meal
 in their Houses, except the Farmers of the
 Duty on that Commodity, who paid him,
 for Nine Months successively, Three Du-
 cats for every Moggio * of Meal. With
 this Money he paid, during all that Time,
 the *Spanish* and *German* Horse and Foot ;
 which Expedient not only defended him
 from the present Danger, but supported
 him all the following Winter, having quar-
 tered the *Italian* Infantry in *Novara*, and
 some Towns of the *Lomellina*, and thro'
 the Villages of the Territory of *Mi-*
lan, in which Places he suffered them to
 plunder

* *Moggio* ; a Measure containing Eight Quarters and a
 Half *English*.

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plunder and tax the People at Pleasure all the Winter.

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1528.

ON the First of *October* *St. Pol* arrived at *Gavi*, Twenty-five Miles distant from *Genoa*, having left his Artillery at *Novi*; and the next Day he took the Castle of *Borgo de' Fornari*, and having advanced further towards *Genoa*, on Intelligence that Seven Hundred *Corfican* Foot had entered that City, he returned to *Borgo de' Fornari*, not finding himself able, for want of Money, to muster above Four Thousand Foot in all, comprehending his own Troops, those brought by *Montjean*, and One Thousand sent from the Camp under *Nicolo Doria*; and those few that remained were continually passing into *France*. Giving over therefore the Enterprize as desperate, he detached *Montjean*, with Three Hundred Foot, to *Savona*, which the *Genoese* were besieging; but they could not enter the Town, because it was blocked up with Trenches, and all the Passes about it were secured. *St. Pol* therefore, on the 10th of *October*, retired

A. D. 1528. retired to *Alessandria*, and afterwards to *Senazzara*, between *Alessandria* and *Pavia*, to confer with the Duke of *Urbino*, but with scarce any Troops left about him. Here consulting on the public Affairs, and the Duke representing that the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, had not Four thousand Men left between them, and that *Antonio da Leva* had within *Milan* and abroad Four Thousand *Germans*, Six Hundred *Spaniards*, and Fourteen Hundred *Italians*, it was resolved that he should retire into *Pavia*, and *St. Pol* into *Alessandria*, for which he had Leave of the Duke of *Milan*. They talked also of making all new Levies, and then, if the Times served, of undertaking the Reduction of *Biagrassa*, *Mortara*, and the Castle of *Novara*.

Savona
surrender-
ed to the
Genoese.

AND now the People of *Savona*, seeing that *Montjean* could not force his Way into the Town, on the 27th of *October*, agreed to surrender, if they were not relieved within a few Days. Wherefore *St. Pol*, desirous to succour it, but having in all no more than One Thousand Foot
of

of his own, demanded Three Thousand ^{A. D. 1528.} Foot of the Duke of *Urbino* and of the Duke of *Milan*, who sent him only Twelve Hundred; so that not assuring himself that he should be able to succour the Place with so small a Number of Troops, he suffered it to be lost, and the *Genoese* taking Possession, immediately filled up the Port with Loads of Stones, in order to render it useless.

ABOUT the same time, also, *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, despairing of Relief; and quite exhausted of Money, surrendered upon Articles the Castelletto of *Genoa*, which the Populace, in their Fury, levelled with the Earth; and the *Genoese*, with the Authority of *Andrea Doria*, established in that City a new Government, before debated, under the Name of Liberty. ^{Revolutions in Genoa.} The Sum of it was, That a Council of Four Hundred Citizens should have the Power of creating all the Magistrates and Officers of Dignity of their City, and especially the Doge, and the supreme Magistracy for the Term of Two Years, taking off the Prohibition from the Nobility,

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1528.

bility, who had before been excluded from it
 by Law. And it being a fundamental Point,
 of the greatest Importance for the Preservation of Liberty, to provide against the Divisions of the Citizens, which had been, for a long Time, greater and more pernicious than in any other City in *Italy*, since there had not been only one Division, but a Party of the *Guelfs*, and an opposite one of the *Ghibellins*, and a Faction of the Nobility in opposition to another of the Commonalty, and the Commonalty also not all of one Mind among themselves, besides two very powerful Parties of the *Adorni* and *Fregosi*; by which Divisions there was good Reason to think that their City, which, by the Conveniency of its Situation, and the Skilfulness of its People in Naval Affairs, appears qualified above all for maritime Empire, had been depressed, and for a long Time kept in almost continual Subjection; therefore, in order to come at the Roots of these Evils, they suppressed all the Names of the Families and of the Houses of the City, preserving only the Names of Twenty-eight of the most illustrious, except the
Adornian

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Adornian and the *Fregosian*, which were utterly extinguished *. Into the Name and Number of these Families they adopted all those Nobles and Commons that remained without a Name of a House, taking Care, for the more effectual Confusion of the Memory of the Factions, to incorporate the Nobles into Families of the Commons, and the Commons into Noble Families, those who had been Partisans of the *Adorni* into Houses which had favoured the *Fregosi*, and, on the contrary, the Followers of the *Fregosi* among such as had been devoted to the *Adorni*. It was also ordered that there should be no Distinction between them by prohibiting one more than another from Access to Honour, or Places in the Government. By this Confusion of Persons and Names they were in Hopes that, in no long Process of Time, the pestilent Memory of the Factions would be abolished, preserving in the mean while the greatest Respect to the Authority of *Andrea Doria*, without whose Consent, on account

F 2

of

* The *Fregosi*, *Adorni*, and others, have since resumed their former Names.

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of his personal Reputation, and of the Command with which he was entrusted by *Cæsar* of the Gallies, which, at such times as they were not employed, had their Station in the Port of *Genoa*, no Resolution should be taken in weightier Matters, his Power and Greatness causing the less Uneasiness, because he had no Hand in the Administration of the Finances, nor intermeddled in the Election of a Doge or other Magistrates, nor in private or lesser Concerns; so that the Citizens being at Rest, and more intent on Commerce than Ambition, remembering especially their past Sufferings and Dependencies, had reason to be in Love with that Form of Government. After this the *French* Fleet, and that of *Andrea Doria* had an Engagement between *Monaco* and *Nizza*, in which one of *Doria's* Gallies was sunk.

AFTER the Loss of *Genoa* the Duke of *Urbino* and *St. Pol* had a new Conference at *Senare*, between *Alessandria* and *Pavia*, where the Duke, not much to the Satisfaction of *Francesco Sforza* and *St. Pol*,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 85

Pol, resolved to remove beyond the *Adda*, leaving the Care of *Pavia* to the Duke of *Milan*, and advising *St. Pol* to take up his Winter Quarters in *Alessandria*. This Conduct of his was not only disrelished by the *French* Officers, but the King himself, who would not accept any slight Excuses given him by the *Venetians*, made heavy Complaints that they had not given Succours to the *Castelletto* of *Genoa*, and to the City of *Savona*, which the *Genoese* were ruining. *St. Pol* afterwards received a Reinforcement of One Thousand *German* Foot, which, with the One Thousand under *Villecerre* in the *Lomellina*, made up Four Thousand Foot.

At this Time arose some Commotions in the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*; for after the Death of the Marquis *Michelantonio*, the Government being assumed by *Francesco Monsignore*, a younger Brother, who had entered upon the Administration, because *Gabriello*, the second Son †, had, even during the Life of his elder

F 3 Brother,

† The next Brother to the Deceased.

A. D. Brother, been confined in the Castle of
 1528. *Ravel*, by Order of the Mother, who had
 the Tutelage of her Sons during their Mi-
 nority, under a Pretence of Lunacy, the
 Governor of *Ravel* set at Liberty *Gabriello*,
 who, seizing on the Mother that kept him
 Prisoner, acquired, with the Good Will
 of the People, the whole State. But his
 Brother, who had betaken himself to
 Flight, soon after entered into *Carmagnu-*
ola, and assembling some Troops defeat-
 ed *Gabriello*.

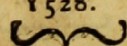
NOTHING farther of any Moment
 happened this Year in *Lombardy*, except
 an Incurfion of Count *Gajazzo* as far as
Milan, because the *Venetians* did not fur-
 nish *St. Pol* with the Foot, as they had
 promised, for the Attack of *Serravalle*,
Gavi, and other Places belonging to the
Genoese. An Action of Importance was
 however attempted ; for *Montjean* and
Villecerre put themselves on a March,
 Two Hours before Night, from *Virade*,
 with Two Thousand Foot, and Fifty
 Horse, in order to surprise *Andrea Do-*
ria in his Palace, which was by the Sea-
 side,

sides, and almost contiguous to the Walls of *Genoa*. This Design did not take Effect, because the Foot, being tired with the Length of the Way, which was Twenty-two Miles, did not arrive in the Night, but after some Hours of Day-light, which giving an Alarm, *Andrea Doria* conveyed himself out at a Back-door, and leaping into a Boat, escaped the Danger; and the *French*, after performing no other Exploit than plundering the Palace, retired in Safety: And Count *Gajazzo*, laying an Ambuscade between *Milan* and *Moncia*, routed Five Hundred *Germans*, and One Hundred Light Horse, that were marching to escort some Provisions; tho' afterwards, being sent by the *Venetians* to *Bergamo*, he so plagued that City with robbing and plundering, that the Senate, who had constituted him Captain General of their Infantry, no longer able to endure such great Insolence and Avarice, turned him out of their Service with Disgrace.

A. D.
1528.
Attempt
to surprise
Doria
miscar-
ries.

A D.

1528.



Design to
surprise
Pavia
fruitless.

AT this Time the *Spaniards* took *Vigevano*, and *Belgiojoso*, who had escaped out of the Hands of the *French*, being sent by *Antonio da Leva* with Two Thousand Foot to surprise *Pavia*, which had a Garrison of Five Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*, presenting himself one Night at the Walls was discovered, and constrained to retire without Success.

MUCH about this Time also arrived at *Genoa* Two Thousand *Spanish* Foot, sent by *Cæsar* from *Spain*, either for Defence of *Genoa*, or to march to *Milan*, as Necessity required, and *Belgiojoso* went to conduct them. *St. Pol* prepared to prevent the Coming of these Foot, who made as if they would take the Road either to *Casale* or to *Piacenza*, and insisted that the *Venetians* should post themselves with a good Body of Forces at *Lodi*, to prevent them from being supported by the Enemy from *Milan*; and he endeavoured also to persuade them to undertake jointly an Enterprize upon *Milan*, being encouraged by the Wants and Despair of that

THE WARS IN ITALY. 89

that People, which the Duke of *Urbino* A. D. 1528.
dissuaded. But the *Venetians* proceeded } Venetians backward in prosecuting the War.
but coldly on Actions that required Vi-
gour, and more especially at that Time,
because, on the Report of *Andrea Navagiero*, their Ambassador returned from
Spain, made in favour of *Cæsar*, and from
some Negotiations which were held in
Rome by the *Cæsarean* Ambassador, there
were various Opinions in their Senate, ma-
ny of the Members inclining to make an
Agreement with *Cæsar*, but at last it was
agreed to continue in Confederacy with the
King of *France*.

TORNIELLO now passing the *Tesi-*
no with Two Thousand Foot took *Basig-* Actions of Parties.
nana, and was proceeding towards the
Lomellina; and the Abbot of *Forsà* having
marched, with his Horse, to *Crescentino*, a
Place of the Dutchy of *Savoy*, was
attacked in the Night and routed,
himself being taken Prisoner, but de-
livered by Help of the Marquis of *Mon-*
ferrato; and the Marquis of *Mus* defeated
some Troops of *Antonio da Leva*, and took
their Cannon.

A. D.

1528.

{

IT was doubted that the Pontiff inclined to the Party of *Cæsar*, because the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, being arrived at *Naples*, caused the Three Cardinals who were kept there as Hostages to be set at Liberty ; and it was said that he had Orders from *Cæsar* to cause Restitution to be made of *Ostia* and *Civita Vecchia* : By means of that Cardinal also, who had interceded with the Pontiff about it, *Andrea Doria* restored *Portercole* to the *Senese*. But it was discovered more and more every Day, that the Pontiff had his Mind

Pope meditates Innovations,

intent on Innovations, because at his Instigation, tho' secretly, *Braccio Baglione* molested *Malatesta* in the Administration of *Perugia*, tho' he was in his Pay ; and being informed that the Duke of *Ferrara* was come to *Modena*, he endeavoured to take him in his Return by an Ambuscade of Two Hundred Horse, laid by *Paolo Luzzasco*, at *Casa de' Coppi*, in the *Modenese* ; but the Duke not setting out, the Plot was discovered.

THE

THE WARS IN ITALY.

91

A. D.

1528.

THE Kingdom of *Naples* was not at this Time entirely freed, by the Defeat of the *French*, from the Calamities of War; for *Simone Romano*, assembling new Forces, took *Navo*, *Oriolo*, and *Amigdalara*, Towns situated by the Sea, on a Branch of the *Apennine*; and being joined by *Federigo Caraffa*, who was sent from the Duke of *Gravina* with One Thousand Foot, and by many others of the Country, was at the Head of no contemptible Army. But, after the Victory of the Imperialists about *Naples*, seeing himself abandoned by the Troops of the Duke of *Gravina*, having sacked *Barletta*, into which City he was introduced through the Castle, he stayed there; *Camillo* and *Giancurrado*, both of the Family of the *Orsini*, at the same time keeping Possession, the first of *Trani*, and the other of *Monopoli* for the *Venetians*. After this came thither, with One Thousand Foot, *Renzo da Ceri*, and the Prince of *Melfi*, who having retired between *Nocera* and *Gualdo*, and afterwards broke up from thence by Orders of the Pontiff, who was unwilling to offend the Conquerors,

A. D.

1528.

Conquerors, embarked at *Sinigaglia*, and went by Sea to *Barletta*, with a Design to renew the War in *Puglia*, pursuant to a Resolution taken by common Consent of the Confederates, that the Imperial Army might be necessitated to stay in the Kingdom of *Naples* till Spring, against which Time they talked of making new Provisions for the common Safety. Wherefore the King of *France* sent *Renzo* a Supply of Money, and the *Venetians*, who had also the same Desire, that they might the more easily keep Possession, by the Assistance of others, of the Towns which they held in *Puglia*, offered to accommodate him with Twelve Gallies; but the King insisting that they should equip them, and that the Cost should be computed in the Eighty Thousand Ducats which they were bound to contribute by Engagement contracted with *Lautrech*, they would hearken to no such Thing. The King of *England* promised not to be wanting in the ordinary Provisions, and the *Florentines* had compounded to pay One Third of the Troops which *Renzo* had conducted thither.

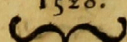
THE Imperialists were not in sufficient Readiness to extinguish this Combustion, being employed in exacting Money to satisfy the Soldiers for their Arrears. To render the Exactions easier, and to secure the Kingdom by Examples of Severity, the Prince caused to be publicly beheaded in the Market-place of *Naples*, where the Plague was violently raging, *Federigo Gaetano*, Son of the Duke of *Trajetto*, and *Enrico Pandone*, Duke of *Boviano*, born of a Daughter of old *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, and four other *Neapolitans*, exercising also the like Severities in other Places of the Kingdom; by these Examples striking a general Terror, proceeding against the Absent, who had followed the *French*, and confiscating their Goods, for which afterwards Composition was made in Money, and omitting no Severity by which they might exact the greater Quantity of it. These Affairs were all directed by the Counsel of *Geronimo Morone*, who had the Duchy of *Boviano* bestowed on him in Reward of his Services.

Executions in
Naples.

BESIDES

A. D.

1528.



BESIDES these Movements *Gianjacopo Franco*, in the *Abruzzi*, took Possession for the King of *France* of *Matrice* in the Neighbourhood of *Aquila*, which was followed by a general Insurrection of the Country, and *Aquila* itself, where *Sciarra Colonna* lay sick with Six Hundred Foot, was not free from a Suspicion of an Inclination to revolt. The *Venetians* also provided for the Affairs of *Puglia*, and sending by Sea some Light Horse to supply *Barletta*, Part of the Vessels that conveyed them were cast away; where the Proveditor getting into a Boat, it overfet, and he was drowned; the Horse which were commanded by *Giancurrado Orfino*, much weatherbeaten, fell into the Hands of the Imperialists, and *Giampaolo da Ceri*, cast on the Shore near *Guaſto*, was made a Prisoner by the Marquis. At the End of this Year *Aquila* revolted to the League, by means of the Bishop of that City, and of the Count *di Montorio*, and other Exiles, because it had been ill treated by the Imperialists.

Venetians
ship-
wrecked.

Aquila
revolts.

Now

Now follows the Year 1529, in the Beginning of which there began to appear some Indication of a Disposition in all Parties to Peace, shewing themselves willing to have it negotiated in the Court of the Pontiff. For it being known that the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* (so was the *Spanish* General intituled) was coming to *Rome*, with full Powers from *Cæsar* to conclude a Peace, the King of *France*, who was heartily desirous of it, dispatched Orders to his Ambassadors, and the King of *England* sent Ambassadors to *Rome* for the same Purpose. These Negotiations, together with the Remissness of the Princes, who were tired of the War, was the Cause that the Confederates proceeded but slowly in their military Preparations. For in *Lombardy* the most material Concern was, whether the *Spaniards* arrived at *Genoa* would be able to make their Way to *Milan*, from whence almost all the *Germans* were departed for want of Money. And *Belgiojoso*, who was to conduct these *Spaniards*, being come, with One Hundred Horse, as far

Disposi-
ons to
Peace.

War re-
mifs in
Lombardy.

as

A: D. as *Casè*, passed from thence in Disguise to
 1529. *Genoa*. From thence he conducted the
Spaniards to *Savona*, to be joined by Five
 Hundred Foot, newly arrived from *Spain*,
 and landed at *Villa Franca*.

BUT in the Kingdom of *Naples* the
 Imperialists, apprehending that the Re-
 bellion of *Aquila* and *Matrice*, and the E-
 nemy's making Head in *Puglia* might
 produce Effects of greater Moment, de-
 termined to employ those Troops which
 they had with them in reducing these
 Places. Whetefore it was resolved that
 the Marquis *del Guasto* should march with
 the *Spanish* Foot to recover the Towns
 in *Puglia*, and the Prince of *Orange*, with
 the *German* Foot, was to go against *Aquila*
 and *Matrice*. As soon as the Prince ap-
 proached *Aquila*, those in Garrison march-
 ed away, and *Orange* compounded with
 the City and its Territory for One Hun-
 dred Thousand Ducats: He took away
 also the Silver Shrine which *Lewis X.*
 King of *France* had dedicated to *St. Ber-*
nardino. From hence he detached some
 Troops to *Matrice*, where *Camillo Pardo*
 commanded

commanded with a Garrison of Four Hundred Men. But he was gone a few Days before, with a Promise to return ; but, either out of Fear because there was no Wine in the Town, and their Water was cut off, and the Inhabitants and Soldiers were at Variance, or for some other Reason, he did not only not return, but also kept back some of the Money which the *Florentines* had sent him for maintaining that Place ; the Soldiers therefore marched away over the Walls, and the Town surrendered.

A. D.
1529.
Aquila
and *Ma-*
trice reco-
vered by
the Impe-
rialists.

FROM such prosperous Successes it was feared that *Orange* would pass into *Tuscany*, at the Instances of the Pontiff, who being recovered from a very dangerous, tho' short, Disorder, did not desist from negotiating, and giving Hopes to all Parties. For he promised the *French* to adhere to the League, if *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were restored to him, offering also to compound, on honourable Conditions, with the *Florentines*, and with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who in the Payment of Money which he had before made to *Lau-*
VOL. X. G trech,

A. D. *trech*, had assured him that he paid him
 1529. out of meer Liberality, and not because he
 was bound to it, for the Pontiff had not
 ratified. On the other Side, having re-
 covered, tho' with great Presents and Ex-
 pences, the Castles of *Ostia* and *Civita*
Vecchia, by means of the Commission
 brought by the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*,
 he had held more sound and more sincere
 Negotiations with *Cæsar*, treating toge-
 ther more about private Concerns, which
 began to be managed with more Secrecy,
 and on a better Foundation, than of the
 universal Business of Peace.

Pope in-
 clines to
Cæsar.

BUT in *Puglia* the State of Affairs
 stood thus: *Barletta* held out for the
 King of *France* under the Government
 of *Renzo da Ceri*, who had with him the
 Prince of *Melfi*, *Federigo Caraffa*, *Simone*
Romano, *Camillo Pardo*, *Galeazzo da Far-*
inese, *Giancurrado Orfino*, and the Prince
 of *Stigliano*. The *Venetians* were in Pos-
 session of *Trani*, *Pulignano*, and *Monopoli*,
 having in those Places Two Thousand
 Foot,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

99

Foot, and Six Hundred Cappelletti*, of which Two Hundred were in *Monopoli*; they had also the Command of the Port of *Biestri*. But the King of *France*, after he had sent a small Sum of Money in the Beginning, made no Provision for these Towns, nor had he accepted of the Squadron of Twelve Gallies offered him by the *Venetians*, of which Three Gallies and a large Pinnace, bound for *Trani* and *Monopoli* with Provisions, were cast away on the Coast of *Bestrice*, and at several Times they had lost Five, but saved the Cannon and Stores. There held out also for the *French*, *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, *Nardoa* in the Territory of *Otranto*, and *Castro*, in which was Count *Dugento*. And the War being carried on by the Men of the Kingdom, and by the Forces of the Country, many Bodies of Rebels of *Cæsar*, and many that followed the War, only as Soldiers of Fortune, for the Sake of Plunder, were assembled in various Places, so that the Condition of the

G 2 Country

* *Albanian*, or *Greek*, Light Horse, so called from *Cappelletto*, a kind of little Cap they wore.

A. D. 1529. Country was miserable beyond Belief, being all exposed to Robberies, Pillaging, Taxations and Burnings from all Parties. But more famous than others for Incursions was *Simone Romano*, who, with his Light Horse, and Two Hundred and Fifty Foot, scouring all the circumjacent Places, frequently brought into *Barletta* Cattle, Corn, and other Things of all Sorts, sometimes by Stealth, sometimes by Force, getting into and sacking this, and then another Town; as it happened to *Canosa*, into which entering by Night with Scaling-ladders, he plundered it, and carried off a Number of Horses belonging to Forty Men at Arms quartered in the Castle.

Siege of *Monopoli*. At last the Marquis *del Guasto*, not attempting *Barletta*, a very strong and well fortified Town, in the Month of *March* laid Siege to *Monopoli*, in which were *Camillo Orsino*, and *Giovanni Vitturio* the Proveditor. His Force consisted of Four Thousand *Spanish* and Two Thousand *Italian* Foot, for the *Germans*, in Number Two Thousand Five Hundred,

dred, had halted in the *Abruzzi*, and refused to march into *Puglia*. The Marquis encampod in a little Valley covered by a Mountain, so that he could not be annoyed by the Cannon of the Place, into which *Renzo* immediately conveyed by Gallies Three Hundred Foot. *Monopoli*, a Town of a very small Circuit, has the Sea on Three Sides, and towards the Land a Wall of Three Hundred or Three Hundred and Fifty Paces, furrounded by a Ditch. Over against the Wall, within Harquebus Shot, the Marquis erected a Redoubt, and Two others on the Sea-shore, one on each Side, but at such a Distance that they commanded the Sea, and the Gate towards the Sea, to prevent the Gallies from importing Succours of Men or Provisions. In the Beginning of *April* the Marquis gave the Assault to *Monopoli*, in which he lost above Five Hundred Men, and a great Number of Pioneers, had Three Pieces of Cannon broken, and was forced to retreat to the Distance of a Mile and a Half, suffering greatly from the Artillery of the Place. The *Venetians* then made a Sally, scoured all his Redoubts,

A. D. and killed above One Hundred Men,
 1529 having secured the Port by a Redoubt
 erected on the Shore over against that of
 the Enemy. *Guasto* however renewed his
 Approaches to *Monopoli*, where he erected
 Two Cavaliers, to batter the Inside of the
 Town, and drew Trenches to be carried
 on to the Ditch, which was to be filled up
 with Six Hundred Loads of Fascines. But
 the Besieged soon after made a Sally
 with Two Hundred Men, and burnt the
 Redoubt. The Marquis then carried on
 a Trench at the Right of the Battery,
 and drew another Trench, at the Right of
 the Lodgment of the *Spaniards*, within a
 Stone's-cast of the Ditch, behind which
 he cast up a Redoubt, and planted Can-
 non on it, with which he made a Breach
 in the Wall Sixty Braces wide, and a-
 bout Four Braces from the Ground ; but,
 on Advice that a new Supply of Troops,
 sent by *Renzo*, had entered the Place in
 the Night, he drew off his Artillery, and
 at last, towards the End of *May*, raised the
 Siege.

Siege
 raised.

W H I L E

W H I L E the Marquis lay before *Monopoli*, and after his Retreat, happened various Actions and Movements; for the Garrison of *Barletta* made Excursions, and plundered the Country, and did a vast deal of Damage; and the Troops which were in *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, commanded by *Federigo Caraffa*, took *San Severo*, and forced the Imperialists, who had besieged the Town of *Vico*, to raise the Siege. After this *Caraffa* went by Sea with Twenty-six Sail to *Lanciano*, in which were quartered One Hundred and Sixty Men at Arms, and, entering by Force, carried off Three Hundred serviceable Horses, and a great deal of Plunder, but left no Garrison in the Place. Numbers of Exiles also committed very great Ravages in the *Basilicata*; by which Difficulties the Imperialists were greatly obstructed in levying the Taxes, and it is not to be doubted that if the King of *France* had sent Money and some Succours of Troops, there would have arose new Troubles and Commotions throughout the Kingdom, which would at least have employ-

A. D. 1529. the *Cæsarean* Army in Defence of their own State. But it was impossible for disorderly and undisciplined Troops, promiscuously got together, to effect, at last, any thing of great Consequence, since they were without Succours or fresh Supplies; for only the *Florentines* gave *Renzo* some Assistance; and the Duke of *Ferrara* even denied *Renzo's* Request to send him by Sea Four Pieces of Cannon; and now Corn and Money began to be wanted in *Barletta*, and about Six Hundred of the Rebels, besieged by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of *Calabria* in *Montelione*, being necessitated to surrender for Want of Ammunition and Provisions, were led Prisoners to *Naples*. After this the Prince of *Melfi* went with the Fleet, and *Federigo Caraffa* by Land, to besiege *Malfetta*, a Town formerly belonging to the Prince, where *Federigo* in the Attack was killed with a Stone; which so provoked the Prince that he took the Town by Storm, and plundered it. The like Misfortune happened to *Simone Romano*; for the *Venetian* Fleet, which from the Cape of *Otranto* infested all the Country, approach-

Caraffa
and *Simone Romano*
killed.

approaching *Brindisi* landed some Troops, and with them *Simone Romano*, which took Possession of the City, but in attacking the Castle *Simone* was killed by a Cannon Ball.

WHILE the Troubles continued in the Kingdom of *Naples* with various Success, Affairs were in no peaceful Situation in *Lombardy*. For *St. Pol* at the End of *March* took *Serravalle* by Storm, and the Castle agreed to stand neuter; but, the Enemies having repossessed themselves of the Place by Surprise in the Night, it was feared that the *Spaniards* could no longer be prevented, by blocking up the Passage, from marching to *Milan*; especially considering that the Troops diminished every Day for want of Money, but little coming from the King, and of that small Matter the General, who was a Man of very little Management, spent one Part upon himself, and the other was embezzled by the Officers.

IT was a Dispute between the King and the *Venetians* what Enterprize was fittest to be

A. D. ¹⁵²⁹ be undertaken: The King insisted on that of *Genoa* from the Importance of that City, especially since it was reported for certain that *Cæsar* would next Summer pass into *Italy*; and because he knew that the *Venetians* had not lent the least Assistance either for the Relief or Recovery of that City, though they alledged in Excuse the Rumour of the Coming of a fresh Body of *Germans* into *Italy*, he doubted they would be sorry at his Success in that Undertaking. But the *Venetians* representing that *Antonio da Leva* had very few Troops left about him, and offering, as soon as *Milan* was acquired, to send their Troops to assist in the Conquest of *Genoa*, it was resolved with the King's Consent to make an Attempt on *Milan* with Sixteen Thousand Men, each Party to be at half the Charges. This Resolution was taken in *March*, in the Absence of the Duke of *Urbino*, who, on account of the Approach of the Prince of *Orange* and the *German* Foot to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had, almost contrary to the Will of the *Venetians*, retired into his own State.

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State. But the Senate took him again into their Service on the same Conditions as they had formerly granted to Count *Pitigliano*, and *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and sent him Three Hundred Horse and Three Thousand Foot for his Defence, according to their Obligation, and gave the Title of Governor to *Janus Fregoso*.

A. D.

1529.

Duke of
Urbino
Captain
General of
the Venetians.

THE *Venetian* Army consisted of Six Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot, though they were bound to keep on foot Twelve Thousand. This Army on the 6th of *April* took *Casciano* by Storm, and the Castle at Discretion: *Antonio da Leva* and *Torniello* marched out of *Milan* to make a Diversion, but retired without effecting any thing to the Purpose. The Passage of the *Spaniards* from the Territories of the *Genoese* to *Milan*, for the Prevention of which so many Debates and Consultations had been held, at last succeeded. For *St. Pol* and the *Venetians* believing that they would attempt a Passage through the *Tortonese* and the *Alessandrian*, they set out from *Vostaggio*, and took, by the Direction of *Belgiojoso*,

Spaniards
pass from
Genoa to
Milan.

A. D. *Belgiojoso*, a longer Way by the Mountain
1529 of *Piacenza*, and Places subject to the
Church; and being arrived at *Varzi* in
the said Mountain, though *St. Pol* had
sent thither an Hundred and Fifty Horse,
and had given Notice of their March at
Lodi, and to the *Venetians*, who, in order
to oppose them, sent Part of their Troops
to the Duke of *Milan*, but later by a Day
than Necessity required, and in a lesser
Number than they had promised, they
passed the *Po* in the Night at *Arena*,
making use of the Boats of *Piacenza*,
nothing now being capable of obstructing
their Conjunction with *Leva*; who, to fa-
cilitate it, was advanced to *Landriano*,
Twelve Miles from *Pavia*, where they
joined him, and were conducted to *Milan*,
being so bare of every thing as to deserve
the Name of *Shabbroons*, and increasing
the Calamities of the *Milanese*, whom
they robbed and stripped in the very
Streets. Thus were frustrated the Projects
that the *French* and *Venetians* had formed
for the whole Winter, which were, to stop
the Passage of these Troops, to take *Gavi*,
and the circumjacent Places belonging to
Genoa,

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Genoa, and to make themselves Masters of *Casè*, a Fortrefs which did great Damages to all the Country; moreover *Antonio da Leva* took Possession of *Binasco* by Capitulation.

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BUT as the *Spaniards* had been accommodated with Boats from *Piacenza*, and it was believed that they would not have moved if they had not received Assurances that they might, in case of Necessity, retire into that City, these, added to many other Indications, and especially the Restitution of the Fortresses, increased in the Confederates a Suspicion that the Pontiff had agreed, or was ready to agree with *Cæsar*. He had indeed secretly turned all his Thoughts on the Recovery of the State of *Florence*, and though he circumvented the *French* Ambassadors with holding various Negotiations, and amusing with various Hopes both them and the other Confederates of his adhering to the League, yet moved, partly by the Fear of *Cæsar*'s Greatness, and of the Prosperity of his Undertakings, and partly by the Hopes of more easily inducing him, than he would have

Pope seeks the Restoration of his Family to Florence.

A. D. have induced the King of *France*, to restore
 1529. his Family to *Florence*, he had a greater
 Inclination to *Cæsar* than to the King.
 He was also extremely desirous, for fa-
 cilitating this Design, to reduce to his De-
 votion the State of *Perugia* ; wherefore he
 was supposed to have given Encourage-
 ment to *Braccio Baglione*, who was con-
 tinually attempting new Disturbances in
 those Borders.

FROM this Suspicion *Malatesta* doubt-
 ing that, while he continued in his Pay,
 he should come to be oppressed with his
 Favour, thought it necessary to look out
 for another Protection. Wherefore moved
 either by this Cause, or from a Desire of
 making a better Bargain, or out of an old
 Spleen, he refused to agree with him for
 another Term, pretending that he was not
 bound to a Year's Warning, because, as he
 said, there was no Writing to shew, though
 the Pontiff affirmed that he was obliged to
 it. He treated therefore about entering
 into the Service of the King of *France*,
 and of the *Florentines*, complaining also of
 the Intrigues carried on by the Cardinal of

Cortona

Malatesta
 quits the
 Pope's
 Service.

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Cortona against him, and of a Letter which A. D. 1529.
had been intercepted from the Cardinal *de' Medici* to *Braccio Baglione*. But the Pontiff, being willing indirectly to interrupt that Bargain, published an Edict forbidding all his Subjects to take Pay of any other Prince, without his Leave, under Penalty of Confiscation. This, however, did not deter *Malatesta* from executing his Design, the *French* obliging themselves to give him a Regiment of Two Hundred Horse, with Two Thousand Crowns Salary, the Order of *St. Michael*, and the Command of Two Thousand Foot in Time of War: And the *Florentines* gave him the Title of Governor, Two Thousand Crowns Salary, with the Command of a Thousand Foot in Time of War, of Fifty Horse to his Son, and Fifty to the Son of *Oratio*, with Five Hundred Crowns for the Table of them both; they took under their Protection his State, and that of *Perugia*, and, between the King of *France* and them, allowed him an Hundred Crowns a Month in time of Peace for entertaining Ten Captains. The *Florentines* paid him also for Two Hundred Foot for the Guard
of

A. D. of *Perugia*, while he, on his Part, obliged
 1529. himself, whenever their Affairs required,
 to march for their Service with a Thousand
 Foot, even though he should not have
 with him the Troops promised by the
French. The Pontiff made great Com-
 plaints to the King of *France* of this En-
 listment, as made directly to prevent him
 from exercising the Power of disposing at
 his Pleasure of a City in Subjection to the
 Church. The King, unwilling to offend
 him, delayed to ratify it, and the Pontiff
 hoping, on that account, to divert *Malatesta*,
 persuaded him to stay out the Year's
 Warning, and at the same time privately
 instigated *Braccio Baglione*, *Sciarra Colonna*,
 and the Exiles of *Perugia*, who had
 assembled some Troops, and were en-
 camped at *Norcia*. But all these Measures
 were taken in vain, for *Malatesta* was re-
 solved not to continue in the Service of
 the Pontiff, and, the *Florentines* openly
 assisting him, he was under no Appre-
 hensions from these Movements, which
 the Pontiff, not finding them to answer
 his Intentions, soon laid aside.

THE

THE Pontiff also did not suffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to remain unmolested, being so far from observing the Convention made with him by the College of Cardinals, that on a new Vacancy of the Bishop of *Modena* by the Death of Cardinal *Gonzaga*, promised to a Son of the Duke in that Convention, he conferred it on a Son of *Geronimo Morone*, seeking Occasion, by the Refusal of the Possession, to provoke against him that Minister of such Authority in the Imperial Army. He held also an Intrigue, by means of *Uberto da Gambara*, Governor of *Bologna*, with *Geronimo Pio* for seizing on *Reggio*; but the Duke, coming to the Knowledge of it, made *Geronimo* suffer his due Punishment. He plotted also to recover *Ravenna* by Surprise, but in this also he proved unsuccessful. At this time also inclining every Day more and more in his Heart to the Party of *Cæsar*, and having already entered into a very close Negotiation with him, he sent unto him the Bishop of *Vasone*, Chamberlain of his Household.

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1529.

THE Cause of the King of *England's* Divorce was now removed by the Pontiff to the Court of the *Rota*, which he would have done long before, had he not been restrained by a Regard to the Bull which was in the Hands of *Campeggio* in *England*. For the Affairs of *Cæsar* being reduced to a better Situation in *Italy*, the Pontiff was not only unwilling to give him any farther Offence, but to reverse the Injury he had done him, and had therefore resolved, even before his long Sickness, to have the Cause removed, for which Purpose he dispatched *Francesco Campana* into *England* to *Campeggio*, pretending to the King that he sent him for other Reasons concerning that Cause, but with Orders to *Campeggio* that he should burn the Bull; which he delayed to execute on account of the Disorder which seized the Pontiff, but after his Recovery fulfilled his Commands. The Pontiff, therefore, delivered from that Fear, removed the Cause, to the unspeakable Indignation of that King, especially when, on demanding the Bull of the

Car-

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Cardinal, he understood what had happened. A. D. 1529.

THESE Proceedings occasioned the ^{Fall of} Ruin of the Cardinal of *York*; for the ^{Cardinal} King presupposed the Authority of the ^{Wolsey.} Cardinal to be so great with the Pontiff, that, if he had been pleased with the Marriage of *Anne*, he would have obtained of him all that he had desired. Indignation at this Disappointment opened his Ears to the Envy and Calumnies of the Cardinal's Adversaries, all his Money, and moveable Effects, to an immense Value, were seized, and a small Part of his Ecclesiastical Revenues being left him, he was banished to his Bishopric with a few Servants; and not long after, either on account of some intercepted Letters of his to the King of *France*, or for some other Reason, at the Instigations of the same Enemies, who, from some Words spoken by the King, which indicated a Desire of him, were afraid he would recover his former Authority, he was summoned to make his Defence against a Charge brought against him in the King's Council. On

A. D. this Affair being conducted to Court as a
 1529. Prisoner, he was seized on the Road with
 a Flux, either out of Anger or Fear, and
 died the second Day of his Illness, leaving
 a memorable Example in our Times of
 Fortune and Envy in the Courts of
 Princes.

Civil
 Commo-
 tions in
Florence.

IN *Florence* at this time arose a new
 Commotion, to the great Detriment of
 that Government, against *Nicolo Capponi*,
 the Gonfalonier, about the End of the se-
 cond Year of his Magistracy, excited
 chiefly by some principal Citizens, who
 served themselves on that Occasion of the
 vain Suspicions and Ignorance of the Mul-
 titude. *Nicolo* had in all his Magistracy
 two principal Objects in View; to defend
 those who had been honoured by the
Medici against new Attacks from Envy,
 and even to admit the principal of them to
 participate in Honours and in the public
 Councils with the other Citizens; and to
 take Care not to exasperate the Spirit of
 the Pontiff in Matters that were of no Im-
 portance with respect to Liberty. The
 Observation of both these Points was of
 grea

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great Service to the Republic; for many of those very Persons who had been prosecuted as Enemies of the Government, when they found themselves in Security and careſſed, would have heartily joined with the reſt in its Preſervation; eſpecially as they knew that the Pontiff was diſſatisfied with them for what had happened at the Time of the Alteration of the State; and that the Pontiff, though he moſt ardently deſired the Return of his Family, yet, if he received no freſh Provocations, had leſs Cauſe to take precipitate Meaſures, and to make his Complaint, as he did without ceaſing, to other Princes. But this ſalutary Conduct was oppoſed by ſome ambitious Perſons, who knowing that if thoſe who had been Friends of the *Medici*, Men, doubtleſs, of greater Merit and Experience, were admitted into the Government, their own Authority muſt needs be leſſened, were intent on nothing but keeping the Populace full of Suſpicions of them and the Pontiff, calumniating the Gonfalonier for thoſe Reaſons, and that he might not obtain the Prolongation of his Office for a third Year,

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A. D. as if his Aversion to the *Medici* were not

1529 } so great as was requisite for the Good of
the Republic. The Gonfalonier not much
concerned at these Calumnies, and judg-
ing it highly expedient that the Pontiff
should not be exasperated, amused him
with Letters and private Messages; a Cor-
respondence, however, not begun nor pro-
secuted without the constant Privy of
some of the principal Citizens, and of
those who were in the highest Posts of the
Administration, nor for other Ends than
to divert him from taking some precipitate
Step. But happening to let drop a Letter
written from *Rome*, which contained some
Words capable of begetting a Suspicion in
those who were ignorant of the Original
and Foundation of these Things, and
which came to the Hands of some Mem-
bers of the Supreme Council, some se-
ditionary Youths rose up in Arms, and
seized on the Town-house, keeping the
Gonfalonier as it were under a Guard;
and the Magistrates with a Number of
the Citizens, called together in a tu-
multuous Manner, resolved that he should
be

be deprived of his Office. This Resolution being confirmed by the Great Council, his Cause came afterwards to be tried according to Law, where he was acquitted, and with the greatest Honour accompanied home to his Palace by almost all the Nobility in *Florence*. In his Place was substituted *Francesco Carducci*, a Person, if you regard his past Life, his Qualities, and corrupt Views, unworthy of so great an Honour.

A. D.

1529.

New Gon-
falonier
created.

THE Operations of the War began at this time to revive in *Lombardy*, where, *St. Pol* having on the 27th of *April* passed the *Po* at *Valenza*, the Imperialists abandoned the *Borgo a Basignano*, and the *Pieve al Cairo*. From hence *St. Pol* detached *Guido Rangone* with Part of the Army to *Mortara*, a Place fortified with double Ditches, Flanks, and Water. The Besiegers having planted their Cannon in the Night without any Provision of Gabions, Entrenchments, and the like Preparations, were at Daybreak attacked by the Garrison, who did them considerable Damage, and nailed two Pieces of Can-

Motions
in *Lom-
bardy*.

A. D.

1529.

non, and had like to have taken them all, not without Blame laid on *Guido*, though, being somewhat indisposed in Body, he was not present at the Planting of the Artillery. The Provisions for War at this time in *Milan* were in a bad Condition, nor were they in a better State with the *French* and *Venetians*, who, depending and complaining one upon another, neglected all Preparations. Hence, among other Difficulties, arose in the Confederates some Doubt that the Duke of *Milan*, seeing the little Hopes that remained of recovering that State by their Forces and Assistance, would, by the Mediation of *Morone*, make an Agreement with the Imperialists.

Contend-
ing Powers
disposed to
Peace.

BUT the King of *France* had all his Thoughts and Projects turned on procuring Peace, as the only Way to recover his Children: And *Cæsar* also having the same Inclination, there returned from *Spain* two Agents of Lady *Margaret*, sent by her for that Purpose, with a most ample Commission empowering her to make the Peace. The King, certified of this by one of his Secretaries, whom for that

End

End he had dispatched to *Flanders*, request-
 ed the Allies to send also their Commis-
 sioners; and having fully determined with
 himself to suspend all Provisions of War,
 yet, seeking some Pretence for his Justifi-
 cation, he complained that the *Venetians*
 refused to contribute Money for his Pas-
 sage, and that, though at the Beginning
 they had warmly solicited him to pass on
Cæsar's Passing, and the King had offered
 to do it with Twenty-four Hundred
 Lances, a Thousand Light Horse, and
 Twenty Thousand Foot, provided the
 Confederates would give him Money to
 pay, besides these, a Thousand Light
 Horse, and Twenty Thousand Foot, and
 be at Half the Charges of the Artillery,
 yet, whatever was the Reason, they drew
 back.

ST. POL at this time with Four Can-
 non took by Force *Sant' Angelo*, in which
 were Four Hundred Foot; after this he
 attacked *San Columbano*, in order to open
 a Passage for Provisions from *Piacenza*,
 and took it by Capitulation. Then under-
 standing that *Milan* had in it Four Thou-
 sand

A. D.

1529.

St. Pol
 takes se-
 veral
 Places.

A. D. sand Foot, but many of them sick, he
 1529. formed a Design to besiege that City. On
 the 2d of May *Mortara* surrendered to
St. Pol at Discretion, being no longer
 able to stand his Battery; and *Torniello*,
 abandoning the Town of *Novara*, but
 not the Castle, into which he put a very
 few Foot, retired to *Milan*; so that the
 Imperialists held nothing beyond the *Te-*
sino besides *Gaia* and the Castle of *Bia-*
grassa. *St. Pol*, having taken also the
 Castle of *Vigevano*, marched on the 10th
 to join the *Venetians* at *Borgo a San*
Martino.

Design of
 the Con-
 federates
 on *Milan*
 proves
 abortive.

THE Duke of *Urbino* afterwards arrived
 in the Army, and the Generals, meeting
 together at a Conference at *Belgiojoso*, re-
 solved in common Council to encamp be-
 fore *Milan* with two Armies on two Sides;
 for which End *St. Pol* should pass the *Te-*
sino, and turn about to *Biagrasa*, in order
 to force it; and that the same Day the
Venetians should advance to *Borgo di San*
Martino Five Miles distant from *Milan*, the
Venetians declaring that they had Twelve
 Thousand Foot, and *St. Pol* that he had
 Eight

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Eight Thousand, and he was to be joined by those of the Duke of *Milan*. Wherefore *St. Pol* passed the *Tesino*, and finding the Town of *Biagrassa* abandoned, he took Possession of the Castle by Capitulation, and having encamped at *Gazzano*, Eight Miles from *Milan*, a new Consultation was held on the 3d Day of *June* at *Binasco*. Hence assuring themselves that the *Venetians* had not Half the Twelve Thousand Foot to which they were bound by the Articles of the Confederacy, and *St. Pol* making sad Complaints about it, it was resolved to approach *Milan* only with one Camp on the Quarter of the *Lazaretto*, though Count *Guido* told them that *Antonio da Leva*, who was in Possession of nothing but *Milan* and *Como*, used to say, that *Milan* was not to be forced but with two Camps. But a few Days after, on a Change of Opinion, the Heads of both Armies being assembled at *Lodi*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Urbino*, who had before insisted on marching and laying Siege to *Milan*, and dissuaded marching to *Genoa*, now advised the contrary, the Duke of *Urbino* alledging

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alleging many Reasons for this new Resolution, but principally, that since *Cæsar* was preparing to pass into *Italy*, and that, in order to convoy him, *Andrea Doria* had, on the 8th of *June*, sailed with the Gallies from *Genoa*, and that they had Intelligence from *Germany* that Preparations were making there for sending a new Body of *Germans* into *Italy*, under General *Felix*, he knew not whether it were best to take *Milan*, or not to take it. These were the Reasons alledged by him ; but it was believed that, on persuading himself that the Peace which was under Negotiation in *Flanders* must take Effect, he had represented to the *Venetian* Senate, who were fortifying *Bergamo*, that it would be of no Service to put themselves to Expences for the Recovery of *Milan*. The Sum of his Counsel was, that the Troops of the *Venetians* should take their Station at *Casciano*, those of the Duke of *Milan* in *Pavia*, and *St. Pol* at *Biagrassa*, and endeavour, by means of their Horse, to prevent the Entrance of Provisions into *Milan*, where he imagined they would soon be wanted, because a very small Part
of

of that Territory had been sowed. *St. Pol* A. D. 1529. could not remove him from this Opinion, but did not approve of posting himself with his Army at *Biagrasa*, alledging, that to starve *Milan* it was sufficient for the Troops of the *Venetians* to take Post at *Moncia*, and those of *Sforza* at *Pavia* and *Vigevano*; and that the King pressed him, if *Milan* should not be besieged, to make an Enterprize upon *Genoa*, which he had in his Thoughts to attempt with all Speed, in Hopes that, in the Absence of *Doria*, *Cesare Fregoso*, who had agreed with the King of *France* to be Governor himself, and not his Father, would cause a Revolution with the Assistance of a few Foot.

THESE Steps, with the Knowledge of the Diminution of the Enemy's Troops, had made *Antonio da Leva* so little apprehensive of Danger to *Milan*, that he sent *Filippo Torniello*, with a few Horse, and Three Hundred Foot, to recover *Novara*, while the *French* and *Venetians* lay between the *Tesino* and *Milan*. *Torniello* entering through the Castle, which held out for the Imperialists, recovered *Novara*, and after-

A. D. afterwards marched out with his Men to
 1529. plunder and collect Provisions. But it
 happened, while the Governor of *Novara* was gone out of the Castle and walking about the Town, that Two Soldiers of *Sforza*, and Three of *Novara*, who were Prisoners in the Castle, with the Assistance of some Labourers attacking the Castle, killed or secured some *Spanish* Foot, and seized the Castle, hoping to be succoured by their Friends; for the Duke of *Milan*, as soon as he had Intelligence of the March of *Torniello* out of *Milan*, being in Pain for *Novara*, had detached that Way *Giampaolo* his Brother with a small Number of Horse and Foot, and he was now got as far as *Vigevano*. But *Torniello*, on Advice of what had happened in the Castle, immediately returned back to *Novara*, and with Menaces and Preparations to give the Assault so terrified those Soldiers of *Sforza*, that they capitulated on Condition only of Safety to themselves, without minding that of the *Novarese*, and surrendered the Castle.

Castle lost
 and recovered.

IT was determined then to infest *Milan* with the Forces of the *Venetians* and of the Duke of *Milan*, though the Duke of *Urbino* said that he would not post himself at *Moncia*, but at *Casciano*, that he might be nearer the State of the *Venetians*; and *St. Pol*, who was encamped at the Abbey of *Biboldone*, resolved to return on the other side the *Po*, in order to march towards *Genoa*. Pursuant to this Purpose he marched to encamp at *Landriano*, about Twelve Miles distant from *Milan*, between the Roads to *Lodi* and *Pavia*; and designing to proceed the next Day, which was the 21st of *June*, to encamp at *Lardirago* towards *Pavia*, he sent his Artillery and Baggage with his Vanguard before, and he himself, with the Main Battle and the Rearguard, set out later. *Leva*, informed by his Spies of his Retardation, and of the Separation of the Vanguard, marched out of *Milan* by Night with some Troops in their Shirts, he himself, having a long time been disabled in Body by Pains and Infirmities, being

A. D. 1529. being carried in his Arms by Four Men in a Chair. When he was arrived at two Miles Distance from *Landriano*, marching without Beat of Drum, understanding that *St. Pol* was not as yet set out from *Landriano*, hastening his Men, he fell upon the Enemy before they were apprised of his Coming, the first Squadron of the *French*, under *Jean Thomas de Gallere*, being advanced so far forwards, that they could not come in time to succour their Comrades; and though *St. Pol*, putting Confidence in his Twenty-five Hundred *Germans*, dismounted, and fought valiantly, yet the *Germans*, after a slight Defence, began to retire; but they were supported by *Gianjeronimo da Castiglione* and *Claudio Rangone*, Commanders of Two Thousand *Italians*, who fought most bravely, yet at last the Horse and the *Germans* turning their Backs the *Italians* did the same, and *St. Pol*, remounted on Horseback, and attempting to pass a great Ditch, was taken Prisoner, and with him *Gianjeronimo da Castiglione*, *Claudio Rangone*, *Lignach*, *Carbone*, and other Officers of Note, the Troops were routed, and a Multitude of Horses

St. Pol defeated and taken Prisoner.

Horses, the Baggage of almost the whole Army, with all the Cannon were taken; ^{A. D. 1529.} almost all the Lances, and Count *Guido* with the Vanguard, saved themselves by Flight, and got to *Pavia*, and from thence in the Beginning of the Night to *Lodi*, in such a Consternation that they were ready to fall foul of one another, and break themselves, and a considerable Number were left on the Road. The Officers alledged in their Excuse that the Troops were not paid, and all the *French* quitted the Service, and returned into *France*.

THUS the unhappy Successes of the *French* occasioning in a manner a total Cessation of Arms throughout *Italy*, the Minds of the greater Princes were set on making Agreements. The first that was concluded was an Agreement between the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, made in *Barcelona*, and very favourable for the Pontiff, either because *Cæsar*, being very desirous to pass into *Italy*, sought to remove the Obstacles, for which End he thought it necessary to procure the Friendship of the Pontiff, or because he was willing, by very large

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Articles of
Agree-
ment be-
tween the
Pontiff
and *Cæsar*

Concessions, to give him the greater Reason to forget the Injuries he had received from his Ministers and Army. It imported, That between the Pontiff and *Cæsar* there should be established a Peace and perpetual Confederacy: That the Pontiff should grant a Passage to the *Cæsarean* Army, if they had a Mind to march out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, through the Territories of the Church: That *Cæsar*, out of Respect to the new Marriage, and for the Tranquillity of *Italy*, should reinstate in *Florence* the Son of *Lorenzo de' Medici* in the same Grandeur in which his Family lived before their Expulsion, with Regard, however, to the Costs incurred for the said Restitution as shall be declared between the Pope and him: That Provision shall be made as soon as possible, either by Arms, or by some other more convenient Method, that the Pontiff may be reinstated in the Possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire, and of the Apostolic See: That the Pontiff, when repossessed of the afore-said Towns shall, in recompense of the Kind-

Kindness he has received, grant unto *Cæsar* the Investiture of the *Neapolitan* Kingdom, reducing the Tribute of the last Investiture to a White Horse in Acknowledgement of the Fee, and shall allow him the antient Nomination of Twenty-four Cathedral Churches, concerning which there was a Controversy, the Disposition of the Churches which should not be in Patronage, and of the other Benefices resting in the Pope: That the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, when he shall pass into *Italy*, shall have a personal Conference for debating the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and the universal Peace of Christendom, receiving one another with the due and accustomed Ceremonies and Honour: That *Cæsar*, if the Pontiff shall demand of him the secular Arm for the Acquisition of *Ferrara*, shall, as Advocate, Protector, and eldest Son of the Apostolic See, assist him to the End with all that shall lie in his Power at that Time; and they shall agree together on the Costs, Methods, and Forms of regulating their Proceedings according to the Condition of Times and Events: That the Pontiff and *Cæsar* shall consult

A. D.

1529.

A. D. together on some Means for procuring the
1529. Cause of *Francesco Sforza* to be tried in a
Court of Judicature according to Law,
and by unsuspected Judges, that, if he be
found innocent, he may be restored; if
otherwise, *Cæsar*, though the Disposal of
the Dutchy of *Milan* belonged to him,
offers to dispose of it with the Advice and
Consent of the Pontiff, and to invest with
it a Person who may be acceptable to him,
or to dispose of it in any other Manner as
shall appear more expedient for the Quiet
of *Italy*: *Cæsar* promises that *Ferdinand*
King of *Hungary*, his Brother, shall con-
sent that, during the Life of the Pontiff,
and two Years after, the Dutchy of *Milan*
shall take the Salts of *Cervia*, according
to the Confederacy between *Cæsar* and
Leo, confirmed in the last Investiture
of the Kingdom of *Naples*, without ap-
proving, however, the Agreement made
concerning it with the King of *France*,
and without Prejudice to the Rights of
the Empire, and of the King of *Hungary*:
It shall not be in the Power of either of
them to make new Leagues with respect
to the Affairs of *Italy*, to the Prejudice of
this

this Confederacy, nor observe such as are ^{A. D.} made contrary to it; the *Venetians*, how-^{1529.} ever, are at Liberty to enter into it, on abandoning what they possess in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and fulfilling the Engagements in which they stood bound to *Cæsar* and *Ferdinand* by the last Confederacy made between them, restoring also *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, with a Reserve also to Rights of Damages and Interests incurred on account of these Affairs. *Cæsar* and *Ferdinand* shall use all possible Endeavours that the Heretics may be reduced to the true Way, and the Pontiff shall use spiritual Remedies; and, if they persist in their Stubbornness, *Cæsar* and *Ferdinand* shall employ their Arms against them, and the Pontiff shall take Care that the other Christian Princes shall assist them in Proportion to their Forces. The Pontiff and *Cæsar* shall not receive into their Protection the Subjects, Vassals, or Feudatories of each other, unless on account of a direct Dominion which they might have over any Person, but not to extend it beyond that; and the Protections already taken are understood to be abrogated within one

A. D. Month. That this Friendship and Con-

1529.

nexion might be the more firm and stable, they confirmed it by a close Affinity, *Cæsar* promising to give in Marriage *Margaret* his natural Daughter, with a Dowry of Twenty Thousand Ducats yearly Revenue, to *Alessandro de' Medici*, Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*, whom the Pontiff designed to invest with the secular Greatness of his House, because, at the Time he lay sick and in Danger of Death, he had created *Ippolito*, Son of *Giuliano*, a Cardinal. At the same time they agreed on separate Articles: The Pontiff granted to *Cæsar* and his Brother, for their Defence against the *Turks*, One Fourth of the Revenues of Ecclesiastical Benefices, in the Manner granted by his Predecessor *Adriano*. He absolved all those who in *Rome*, or in other Places, had offended against the Apostolic See, and those who had given Assistance, Counsel, and Favour to, or had been Accomplices in, or had ratified the Trespasses committed, or had approved them tacitly or expressly, or yielded Consent. *Cæsar* not having published the Croisade granted by the Pontiff less ample than

than others granted before, the Pontiff A. D. 1529. abolishing that Croisade, granted another in full and ample Form as had been done by Popes *Julius* and *Leo*. This Agreement, all Difficulties being removed, was not however ratified before Advice came to *Cæsar* of the Defeat of *St. Pol*; and tho' it was doubted that the advantageous Change in his Affairs would produce some Alteration in the Articles, yet he readily confirmed all that had been agreed on, ratifying it the same Day, which was the 29th of *June*, before the high Altar of the Cathedral Church of *Barcelona*, with a solemn Oath.

BUT the Negotiations of an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* proceeded with no less Warmth, for the Management of which, after receiving the necessary Powers, *Cambrai*, a Place destined for finishing Treaties of the greatest Consequence; was appointed for the Scene of the Transaction. In this City Lady *Margaret*, and Madam the Regentess, Mother of the King of *France*, were to have an Interview for prosecuting the Af-

Peace negotiated between *Cæsar* and the King of *France*.

A. D. fair with the Consent of the King of *Engl*

1529.

King uses
Artifices
with his
Allies.

land, who approved of the Overture, while his Most Christian Majesty laboured with all his Art and Diligence, and by Promises to the Ambassadors of his *Italian* Confederates of what he never intended to observe, to make them believe that he would make no Agreement with *Cæsar* without their Consent, and to their Satisfaction. For he was under Apprehensions that, out of Jealousy of his Intentions, they would make their Peace with *Cæsar*, by which Means he would find himself excluded from the Friendship of all Parties. He endeavoured therefore to persuade them that he had no Expectations of Peace, but, on the contrary, had turned all his Thoughts on making Provisions of War, about which he was continually treating, and had sent the Bishop of *Tarbe* into *Italy* with a Commission to repair to *Venice*, to the Duke of *Milan*, to *Ferrara*, and to *Florence*, for holding Debates on Matters relating to War, and to promise that if *Cæsar* should pass into *Italy*, the King of *France* would pass at the same Time with a very potent Army, the other

Con-

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A. D.

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Confederates, on their Part, concurring in the necessary Provisions. And yet, for all this, he was continually pressing forwards the Negotiations of Agreement, for which Purpose, on the 7th Day of July, the two Ladies entered, at different Parts, with great Pomp, into *Cambray*, and took their Lodgings in two contiguous Houses which had a Passage from one into the other. They had a Conference the same Day, and began, by their Agents, to debate on Articles, the King of *France*, to whom the *Venetians*, who were under great Apprehensions from this Congress, made very large Offers, being advanced to *Compeign*, to be nearer at hand for resolving any Difficulties that might occur.

THERE assembled in this Place not only the two Ladies, but also the Bishop of *London*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* for the King of *England*; for these Negotiations were held with the Consent and Participation of that King: And the Pontiff sent thither the Archbishop of *Capua*, and the Ambassadors from all the Confederates were there. But to these Ambassadors the

Congress
at *Cambray*.

A. D. the *French* made Reports different from
1529. the Truth of the Matters under Debate,
the King either having so little Fear of
God, or being so much taken up with a
Regard only to his own Interest, which
consisted wholly in the Recovery of his
Children, that when the *Florentines* made
great Instances with him that, following
the Example of what King *Lewis*, his
Father-in-law and Predecessor, had done
in the Year 1512, he would give his
Consent that they should agree with *Cæsar*
for their own Preservation, he had refused
it, promising that he would never con-
clude an Agreement without including
them, and assuring them that he was most
ready and prepared to make War; and the
same Promises and Assurances he was con-
tinually giving to the rest of the Allies,
while he was most closely pressing the
Negotiations of Peace.

ON *July* 23 came Advice of the Con-
vention made between the Pontiff and *Cæsar*;
and when the Treaty was far advanced
it happened to be disordered and inter-
rupted by some Difficulties which arose
about

about certain Territories of the *Franche Comté*, in such a Manner that the Lady Regentess made Dispositions for her Departure. But by the Interposition of the Pontiff's Legate, and especially of the Archbishop of *Capua*, it was brought to a Conclusion, though the King of *France* promised the Confederates the same things after, as he did before, it was concluded. At last, on the 5th Day of *August*, the Peace was solemnly published in the great Church at *Cambray*. The first Article was that the King's Children should be released, the King paying *Cæsar* for their Ransom One Million, and Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, and to the King of *England*, for *Cæsar*, Two Hundred Thousand more: To restore to *Cæsar*, within Six Months after the Ratification, all that he possessed in the Dutchy of *Milan*; to leave him *Asti*, and yield up his Claim to it; evacuate, as soon as possible, *Barletta*, and what he possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*; insist with the *Venetians* on the Restitution of the Towns of *Puglia*, according to the Articles of *Coignac*, and, in case of Refusal, to declare himself their

Enemy,

A. D.

1529.

Articles of
the Con-
vention
between
Cæsar and
the King
of *France*.

A. D. Eenmy, and assist *Cæsar* for their Reco-

1529.

very with Thirty Thousand Crowns a Month, and with Twelve Gallies, Four Ships of War, and Four Galleons, paid for Six Months; to restore what he had in his Power of the Gallies taken at *Portofino*, or the Value, deducting what had afterwards been taken by *Andrea Doria*, or other Officers of *Cæsar*; to renounce, as they had before agreed at *Madrid*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and yield up his Claims to *Tournay* and *Arras*; to disannul the Process against *Bourbon*, and restore the Honour to the Deceased, and the Estate to the Successors; though *Cæsar* afterwards complained that the King, as soon as he had recovered his Children, deprived them again of them. The Estates seized on account of the War were to be restored to the Owners, or to their Successors; which also gave *Cæsar* Cause of Complaint, because the King did not restore the Estate he had seized to the Prince of *Orange*. All Cartels, even that of *Robert de la Marche*, were intended to be abolished. The Pontiff was comprehended in this Peace as a Principal, and the Duke
of

of *Savoy* was included in it, in general as A. D. 1529. a Subject of the Empire, and in particular as nominated by *Cæsar*: And the King was not to intermeddle, for the future, in the Affairs of *Italy* or *Germany*, in the Favour of any Potentate, to the Prejudice of *Cæsar*; though the King of *France* affirmed, in succeeding Times, that he was not prohibited by this Agreement to recover what the Duke of *Savoy* possessed of the Kingdom of *France*, and what, as he pretended, belonged to himself in right of the Lady Regentess his Mother. There was also an Article importing that the *Venetians* and *Florentines* should be understood as included in the Peace, in case they accommodated their Differences with *Cæsar* within four Months, which was as good as a tacit Exclusion, and the same was the Case of the Duke of *Ferrara*. There was not the least Mention made of the Barons and Exiles of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

THE King, as soon as the Agreement was made, repaired to *Cambray* to visit Lady *Margaret*, and, not being however quite

A. D. 1529.
 King of
 France la-
 bours to
 excuse his
 Conduct.

 quite void of Shame at so unhandsome an
 Action, avoided, for some Days, by
 various Subterfuges, the Sight and Hear-
 ing of the Ambassadors of the Allies. At
 last, admitting them to an Audience se-
 parately, he made some Excuse, alledg-
 ing that he had not been able to act other-
 wise on account of recovering his Children,
 but that he had sent the Admiral to *Cæsar*
 for their Benefit, giving them other vain
 Hopes, and promising the *Florentines* to
 lend them Forty Thousand Ducats for
 their Assistance against the imminent Dan-
 ger, which he performed as he did his
 other Promises; and, pretending he did it
 to gratify them, he gave Leave to *Stefano*
Colonna, of whose Service he designed no
 further Use, to enter into the Pay of the
Florentines.

Motions
 in Lom-
 bardy.

WHILE these Affairs were under Ma-
 nagement *Antonio da Leva* had recovered
Biagrasa, and the Duke of *Urbino* keep-
 ing his Station in the Camp at *Casciano*,
 and employing an incredible Number of
 Pioneers in fortifying it, was solicitous for
 the Preservation of *Pavia* and *Sant' An-
 gelo*,

gelo, alledging that the Camp at *Casciano* A. D. 1529. lay convenient for succouring *Lodi* and *Pavia*. *Antonio da Leva* advanced afterwards to *Enzago*, three Miles from *Casciano*, where he had continual Skirmishes with the *Venetian* Troops; and at last he removed from *Enzago* to *Vauri*, either for making an Incurſion into the *Bergameſe*, or becauſe the *Venetians* had cut off his Water. At this Time alſo *Viſtarino* entered *Valenza* by the Caſtle, and routed Hundred Foot there in Garriſon.

IN *July* Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot were already arrived by Sea at *Genoa* in Expectation of the Coming of *Cæſar*, who, Imperialiſts prepare to attack the Florentines as ſoon as he had made a Convention with the Pontiff, gave Orders to the Prince of *Orange*, at the Pontiff's Requeſt, to attack the State of the *Florentines*. The Prince was arrived at *Aquila*, and employed in reviewing his Troops on the Confines of the Kingdom of *Naples*, when he was inſtantly requeſted by the Pontiff to advance forwards. Wherefore, on the laſt Day of *July* he poſted to *Rome* without Troops, to ſettle with the Pontiff the neceſſary Pro-

A. D. Provisions for the Expedition. Here, after

1529.

various Debates, which had sometimes like to have proceeded to a Rupture, on account of the Difficulties which the Pope made of laying out his Money, they agreed at last that the Pontiff should disburse Thirty Thousand Ducats for the present, and Forty Thousand Ducats more in a short time, that the Prince might, at *Cæsar's* Expence, first reduce *Perugia*, expelling thence *Malatesta Baglione*, to the Obedience of the Church, and afterwards attack the *Florentines* in order to reinstate the Family of the *Medici* in *Florence*; a very easy Matter in the Apprehensions of the Pontiff, who persuaded himself that the *Florentines*, finding themselves abandoned by all, would think it their Duty, according to the Custom of their Ancestors, rather to submit than to expose their Country to the greatest and most manifest Danger.

Forces under the Prince of Orange.

THE Prince there assembled his Troops, which consisted of Three Thousand German Foot, the last Remains of those who had passed into *Italy* from *Spain* with the Viceroy,

Viceroy, and from *Germany* with *George Fronsperg*, and Four Thousand *Italian* Foot not in Pay, commanded by the several Colonels, *Pierluigi da Farnese*, the Count *di San Secondo*, Colonel *Martio*, and *Sciarra Colonna*; and the Pontiff furnished him with three Cannon, and some other Pieces of Artillery out of the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*; and *Orange* was to be followed by the Marquis *del Guasto*, with the *Spanish* Foot, from *Puglia*.

A. D.
1529.

BUT in *Florence* the Resolutions taken on this Occasion were far different from the Pope's Expectations, for the Minds of the People were most obstinately bent on making Resistance, and defending themselves. And because this Disposition was the Occasion of very remarkable Events, it seems very proper to give a particular Description of the Situation of the City.

* * * * *

WHILE these Preparations were making on all Sides, *Cæsar* set sail from *Barcelona* with a great Fleet of Ships of War

A. D. and Gallies, in which were embarked
 1529. a Thousand Horse, and Nine Thousand
 Foot, and, after a troublesome and dan-
 gerous Voyage of Fifteen Days, arrived on
 the 12th of *August* at *Genoa*. In this
Cæsar ar- City he received the first Advice of the
 rives from Spain at Convention concluded at *Cambray*, and at
Genoa. the same time General *Felix*, with Eight
 Thousand *Germans* in *Cæsar's* Pay, passed
 into *Lombardy*.

THE Arrival of *Cæsar* with such mighty
 Preparations struck a Terror into all *Italy*,
 His Com- which was already sure of being left a
 ing alarms the Prey by the King of *France*. Wherefore
Italians. the *Florentines*, in a great Consternation at
 the first Advices, elected Four Ambassa-
 dors, out of the principal Men of the City,
 to congratulate him on his Coming, and
 to solicit an Accommodation of their Af-
 fairs; but afterwards, resuming continually
 fresh Courage, they moderated their Com-
 missions, by restraining them to treat with
 him only about their own Interests, and
 of their Differences with the Pontiff, in
 hopes that *Cæsar*, from the Memory of
 Things past, and the little Confidence
 that

that used to subsist between the Popes and Emperors, would take Umbrage at the Greatness of the Pontiff, and hardly wish to see the Power of the Church increased by the Forces and Authority of the State of *Florence*. The *Venetians* greatly resented that the *Florentines*, being in Confederacy with them, had, without their Participation, elected Ambassadors to the common Enemy. The Duke of *Ferrara* also complained of them, though, following their Example, he immediately also sent his Ambassadors; and the *Venetians* consented that the same Step should be taken by the Duke of *Milan*, who had long before held private Negotiations with the Pontiff for making his Peace with *Cæsar*, knowing, even before the Defeat of *St. Pol*, that but little Confidence was to be reposed in the King of *France* and the *Venetians*.

CÆSAR caused the *Spanish* Foot which he had brought with him to be landed at *Savona*, and directed their March for *Lombardy*, that *Antonio da Leva* might take the Field with a powerful Force. He had offered to land them at *Specie*, in

A. D. order to be sent to *Tuscany*; but the Pontiff, on account of the Impression that had been made, did not think so great a Force necessary, especially as he was desirous, for the Preservation of the Country, not to use such violent Means against his own City without Necessity: However, he now openly proceeded against the *Florentines*, and against *Malatesta Baglione*, and caused to be arrested on the Territories of the Church the Chevalier *Sperello*, who having been dispatched by the King of *France*, before the Convention at *Cambray*, with Money to *Malatesta*, whose Enlistment the King had ratified, was returning to *Perugia*. He had also seized near *Bracciano* the Money sent by the *Florentines* to the Abbot of *Farfa*, whom they had taken into Pay with Two Hundred Horse, for raising a Thousand Foot. But he was soon necessitated to restore it; for the Pontiff having deputed Ambassadors to *Cæsar* the Cardinals *Farnese*, *Santa Croce*, and *Medici*, *Santa Croce* passing through the Towns was arrested by Order of the Abbot, who would not release him before the Money was restored to him.

Pope's
Proceed-
ing against
the *Flo-*
rentines.

BUT

BUT the *Florentines* continued their Preparations, and, having in vain attempted to prevail with *Cæsar* not to commence Hostilities till he had heard their Ambassadors, they solicited Don *Ercole da Este*, the eldest Son of the Duke of *Ferrara*, taken into their Pay six Months before, and appointed their Captain General, to come with his Troops, as he was obliged, to their Assistance. But *Ercole*, though he had accepted the Money sent for levying a Thousand Foot appointed for his Guards when he marched, yet directed by his Father, who postponed Faith and Honour to Reasons of State, refused to come, but restored not the Money, tho' he sent his Cavalry; wherefore the *Florentines* debarred him from the Option of a second Year in their Service.

BUT now the Prince of *Orange* was on the 19th Day of *August* at *Terni*, and the *Germans* at *Fuligno*, the Place of their Rendezvous. And it was pleasant to observe that, though the Peace between *Cæsar* and the King of *France* had been

A. D. concluded and published, the Bishop of
^{1529.} *Tarbe* went about, with the Character o
the King's Ambassador, to *Venice*, *Flo-*
rence, *Ferrara* and *Perugia*, magnifying
the mighty Preparations of his King for
War, and exhorting them to make the
same. The Prince afterwards advanced
with Six Thousand Foot, between *Germans*
and *Italians*, to besiege *Spelle*, where *Gio-*
vanni d'Urbino, who had been long ex-
perienced in the Wars of *Italy*, and was
reputed by much the best of all the Of-
ficers of the *Spanish* Foot, with a good
Number of Horse approaching the Town
in order to survey its Situation, received a
Shot from the Place in the Thigh, of
which he died in a few Days, with great
Loss to the Army, because the War was
in a manner wholly under his Direction. A
Battery was then erected against *Spelle*,
which had a Garrison of above Five Hun-
dred Foot, and Twenty Horse, under
Lione Baglione, a natural Brother of *Ma-*
latesta. But, after a few Cannon Shot
against a Tower that stood without the
Town by the Side of the Walls, the Gar-
rison,

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rison, though *Lione* had given *Malatesta* A. D. 1529. great Hopes of making a good Defence, immediately surrendered, on condition that the Town and its Inhabitants should be left to the Prince's Discretion, and that the Soldiers, with Safety to their Persons, and as many Effects as they could carry on their Backs, should march out with only their Swords, and be incapable of serving against the Pontiff or *Cæsar* for three Months; but in marching out they were almost all disarmed. This shameful Capitulation was imputed in a great measure to *Giovambattista Borghesi*; a *Senese* Exile, who had begun a Treaty with *Fabio Petrucci* attending the Army, and brought it to Perfection with the Assistance of the other Officers; *Malatesta* ascribed it to Treachery, many others to meer Cowardice.

BUT in the mean time the *Florentine* Ambassadors presenting themselves before *Cæsar* had addressed him first with Congratulations on his Arrival, and then endeavoured to convince him that their City was not ambitious, but grateful for Benefits, and ready to be useful to him who

A. D. 1529. should preserve it; excusing its Conduct by alledging that it had entered into the League at the Will of the Pontiff, who had at that time the Command of it, and continued in it out of Necessity. They proceeded no further, because they had no Commission but only to make a Report of what should be proposed to them, and had exprefs Orders from the Republic not to hearken to any Treaty with the Pontiff, and to visit his other Legates, but not the Cardinal *de' Medici*.

Answer of
the Great
Chancel-
lor.

THEY were answered by the Great Chancellor, newly elected Cardinal, that it was necessary for them to satisfy the Pontiff; and, when they complained of the Injustice of that Demand, he answered, that the City, by confederating with the Enemies of *Cæsar*, and sending Troops to fight against him, had forfeited its Privileges, and was devolved to the Empire, for which Reason *Cæsar* might dispose of it at his Pleasure. At last it was intimated to them, in the Name of *Cæsar*, that they must procure a Commission empowering them to make a Convention also
with

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with the Pontiff, after which the Differences between the Pope and them would be taken into Consideration, for before these were compounded *Cæsar* would not treat with them about his own Concerns. They sent a very ample Commission to make an Agreement with *Cæsar*, but not with the Pontiff. Wherefore when *Cæsar*, who left *Genoa* on the 30th of *August*, was arrived at *Piacenza*, the Ambassadors, who followed him, were not admitted into *Piacenza*, because it was known that they were not provided with a Commission in the Form that *Cæsar* had required.

THUS Affairs remained without an Accommodation; and *Cæsar* had also, after a rough Reception, dismissed the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though, returning afterwards with new Instructions, and, perhaps, with new Favours, they were admitted. He also sent *Nassau* Ambassador to the King of *France*, to congratulate him on his strengthening the Band of Affinity with a new Alliance, and to receive the Ratification of the Peace. On the same Affairs the King also dispatched

Cæsar and the King of *France* send mutual Embassies.

A. D.

1529.

patched the Admiral to *Cæsar*, and remitted Money to *Renzo da Ceri*, to enable him to remove with all his Troops out of *Puglia*, whither he was also preparing to send Twelve Gallies under *Filippino Doria* against the *Venetians*, against whom *Cæsar* sent *Andrea Doria* with a Fleet of Thirty-seven Gallies. The King, however, imagining that the Recovery of his Children would be more certain if *Cæsar* had some Difficulties left to struggle with in *Italy*, gave various Hopes to the Confederates; and to the *Florentines*, in particular, he promised to send the Admiral privately with Money; not that he had it really in his Thoughts to assist either them or the others, but that they might persist with greater Reluctancy to agree with *Cæsar*.

IN the mean time a Negotiation of Peace was continually carrying on between *Cæsar* and the Duke of *Milan*, by the Mediation of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, who went to and fro between *Cremona* and *Piacenza*. It appearing strange to *Cæsar* that the Duke put less Confidence in him than he had believed, and the Duke, on the

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1529.

the other hand, hardly prevailing with himself to trust him, an Expedient was proposed that *Alessandria* and *Pavia* should be put into the Pope's Hands till the Duke's Cause was tried. To this *Cæsar* would by no means consent, because he thought the Duke unable to resist his Forces, and so much the more as *Antonio da Leva* was come to *Piacenza*, and, as he was an Enemy to Idleness and Peace, had persuaded him by many Reasons to War. *Cæsar* therefore gave him Orders to undertake the Siege of *Pavia*, designing also that at the same time General *Felix*, who had advanced with a fresh Body of German Foot, and with Horse and Artillery towards *Peschiera*, and afterwards entered the *Brescian*, should begin a War on that Side against the *Venetians*, having made the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was newly returned to his Devotion to the Imperialists, Captain General of that Enterprize.

Cæsar still
at War
with the
Duke of
Milan and
Venetians.

THE Pontiff in the mean time negotiated a Peace between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, in hopes of concluding it at his Coming to *Bologna*. For he had at first designed

A. D. 1529. designed a Conference with *Cæsar* at *Genoa*, but afterwards it was agreed by common Consent between both Parties, for the Conveniency of the Place, to meet together at *Bologna*. To this Interview not only both of them were induced by the common Desire of better strengthening and consolidating their Union, but *Cæsar*, in particular, was moved also by Necessity, for he had a Mind to take the Imperial Crown, and the Pontiff by an earnest Desire of the Enterprize upon *Florence*, and both again by an Intention of establishing some Regulation in the Affairs of *Italy*, which was impracticable without an Accommodation of the Affairs of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, and also of providing against the imminent Danger from the *Turk*, who had entered *Hungary* with a great Army, and was pursuing his March towards *Austria* with a Design to make himself Master of *Vienna*.

At this Juncture no Actions of Moment happened between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*; for the Senate inclining to an Agreement with him, that they might not

Venetians
inclined to
Peace.

not further exasperate him, had retired with their Fleet from the Attack of the Castle of *Brindisi* to *Corfu*, and attended only to the Preservation of the Towns which they held; and in *Lombardy* nothing happened but slight Excursions, the *Venetians* having sent the Duke of *Urbino* to *Brescia* only to provide for the Security of the garrisoned Towns.

THE *Germans*, in number a Thousand Horse, and between Eight and Ten Thousand Foot, were encamped at *Lonata*, with a Design to undertake, in conjunction with the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the Siege of *Cremona*, in which was the Person of the Duke of *Milan*. The Duke seeing himself excluded from an Agreement with *Cæsar*, that *Antonio da Leva* was gone to besiege *Pavia*, and that *Caracciolo* was now coming to *Cremona* to denounce War to him, agreed with the *Venetians* to make no Accommodation with *Cæsar* without their Consent; and the *Venetians* obliged themselves to supply him with Two Thousand Foot, paid by them, and Eight Thousand Ducats a Month for the Defence of his State,

A. D. State, and sent him Artillery and Troops

1529.

to *Cremona*, with which Assistance the Duke assured himself that he could defend *Lodi* and *Cremona*. For *Pavia* made but a slender Resistance against *Antonio da Leva*, not only because it was not victualled for two Months, but also because *Pizzinardo*, who commanded the Garrison, had a few Days before sent four Companies of Foot to *Sant' Angelo*, which *Antonio da Leva* had made a Feint of intending to besiege; whence the Governor having but few Troops left with him, and despairing of any Possibility of Defence, without waiting for Battery or Assault, as soon as he saw Preparations for planting the Artillery, capitulated on condition of Safety to the Persons and Effects of himself and the Soldiers. For this he was highly blamed, as one more influenced, in so hasty a Surrender, by a sordid and avaritious Fear of losing the Riches accumulated by so many Plunders, than by a laudable Desire of preserving the Glory acquired by many distinguished Actions in the Course of this War, and particularly about *Pavia*.

Pavia
surrendered to
Leva.

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By this time the War was greatly kindled in *Tuscany*; for the Prince of *Orange*, as soon as he had taken *Spelle*, and the Marquis *del Guasto*, who followed him with the *Spanish* Foot, began to approach his Army, proceeded to the Bridge of *San Fanni* near *Perugia* on the *Tiber*, where he was joined by the *Spaniards*. In *Perugia* were Three Thousand Foot of the *Florentines*; and the Prince had, before he invested *Spelle*, sent a trusty Messenger to *Perugia* to persuade *Malatesta* to submit to the Will of the Pontiff, who, to bring the City of *Perugia* in some measure under Subjection to himself, and out of a Desire that the Army should proceed forwards, offered *Malatesta*, if he would evacuate *Perugia*, to preserve his Estate and Effects for him, to consent that he should freely go to the Defence of the *Florentines*, and to be bound that *Braccio* and *Sforza Baglioni*, and the other Enemies of his should not re-enter *Perugia*. And though *Malatesta* had declared that he would not accept of any Conditions without the Consent of the *Florentines*, yet

Pope's Offers to *Malatesta*.

A. D. yet he continually gave Ear to the Mes-
 1529. sages of the Prince, who, after the Ac-
 quifition of *Spelle*, plyed him with warmer
 Instances.

Reasons
 for his ac-
 cepting
 them.

MALATESTA communicated the Af-
 fair to the *Florentines*, being inclined with-
 out doubt to a Composition, because he
 was apprehensive of the final Event, and,
 perhaps, that the *Florentines* would not
 continue to afford him all the Assistance
 that he desired; and supposing he was to
 make an Agreement, he could not hope
 to agree on better Conditions than those
 which were proposed to him, and must
 think it much better that, without of-
 fending the Pontiff, and giving him Cause
 to deprive him of his Goods and Estates,
 which were preserved for him, he should
 keep his Post with the *Florentines*, than,
 by taking upon him to defend himself, to
 put his State in Danger, and to make
 himself hated by his Friends, and by the
 whole Town. Wherefore he always per-
 sisted in assuring the *Florentines* that he
 would come to no Accommodation with-
 out them, but withal told them, that if
 they

they would have *Perugia* defended, it was necessary for them to send thither a fresh Supply of a Thousand Foot, and that the rest of their Troops should make head at *Orsaia*, five Miles from *Cortona*, on the Confines of the *Cortonese* and *Perugine*. This it was impossible for them to do without unfurnishing all the Towns, and yet the Post was so weak that it would be necessary to abandon it at every Movement of the Enemy. He represented to them that, if an Agreement was not made, the Prince would leave *Perugia* behind, and take his March for *Florence*; and in such a Case it would be necessary for them to leave a Thousand serviceable Foot in *Perugia*, which, however, would not be sufficient, because the Pontiff might be in a Condition to distress the City with other Forces without the Imperialists; but, in case of an Agreement, the *Florentines* would draw all their Troops together about them, to be followed by him with Two or Three Hundred choice Men of his own; and that, for his Part, when his Enemies were excluded from *Perugia*, he should with

A. D.

1529.

A. D. more Ease and Satisfaction employ him-
 1529. self in their Defence.

THE *Florentines* would have been very well pleased to have kept off the War at *Perugia*; but seeing that *Malatesta* was continually treating with the Prince, and knowing also that he had never intermitted negotiating with the Pontiff, they were apprehensive that by the Importunity of Friends, the Damages of the City and Country, the Jealousy of Enemies, and the Inconstancy of the People, he would at last be induced to yield; and it appeared to them very dangerous to bestow almost all the Strength and Flower of their Forces in *Perugia*, exposed to the dubious Fidelity of *Malatesta*, to the Danger of being forced by the Enemy, and to the Difficulty of making their Retreat if *Malatesta* should come to an Agreement. They considered also that the Change in *Perugia* could be of little Prejudice to them while the Friends of *Malatesta* remained in the Place, and he kept Possession of his Castles, and *Braccio* and his Brothers returned not to the City; whence the Pontiff,

tiff, while it remained in that State, could not but stand in continual Jealousy of it. In this doubtful Sollicitude of Mind, regarding above all things the Preservation of those Troops, and not entirely confiding in the Constancy of *Malatesta*, on the 6th of *September* they sent very privately one of their Agents to remove them out of *Perugia*, fearing they should be circumvented by an Accommodation. But afterwards, on Advice that their Troops durst not leave the Place on account of the near Approach of the Enemy, they dispatched a trusty Messenger to *Malatesta* with their Consent that he should make an Agreement. But he had already, while the Messenger was on the Road, prevented them: For *Orange* on the 9th of *September* passed the *Tiber* at the Bridge of *San Janni*, and having pitched his Camp after some slight Skirmishing, the same Night concluded a Convention with *Malatesta*, obliging him to evacuate *Perugia*, with Leave to enjoy his Possessions, to serve the *Florentines* in a military Capacity, and to draw off their Forces in Safety; and, that those Troops might have Time to retire-

A. D.

1529.

Florentines consent to his Acceptance.

A. D. into the *Florentine* Dominions, *Orange*
 1529. promised to make a Halt with his Army
 for two Days.

*Floren-
sines eva-
cuate Pe-
rugia.*

THUS on the 12th of *September* the Troops
 of the *Florentines* marched out of *Perugia*,
 and making extraordinary Speed arrived
 the same Day at *Cortona* by the Way of the
 Mountains, which is long and difficult,
 but secure. In this Manner was all the
 War reduced within the Dominions of the
Florentines, to whom, though the *Venetians*
 and the Duke of *Urbino* had given Hopes
 of sending them Three Thousand Foot,
 which, on Suspicion of the March of the
 Prince towards those Parts, they had or-
 dered into the State of *Urbino*, yet, as they
 were unwilling to displease the Pontiff,
 the Promise was not made good; only the
Venetians gave Money to the Commissary
Castrocaro to pay Two Hundred Foot:
 And yet, though that Senate, and the
 Duke of *Ferrara* were continually treating
 of an Accommodation with *Cæsar*, they
 encouraged the *Florentines* to defend them-
 selves, that the Difficulty of subduing
 them

them might render him more inclinable *A. D.*
to compound with them on easy Terms. *1529.*

THE *Florentines* had formed two principal Designs; one was, to procure the *Two Designs of the Florentines abortive.* Army to be so much retarded in proceeding forwards as to give them Time enough to fortify their City, to the Walls of which they expected that the War would at last be reduced; the other, to seek by all means to pacify the Indignation of *Cæsar*, even by making an Agreement with the Pontiff, provided that no Alteration was made in the Form of Liberty, and of the popular Government. With these Views they had, before the Exclusion of their Ambassadors, sent a Person to the Prince of *Orange*, and chosen Ambassadors to the Pontiff, insisting, when they notified to him the Election, on his procuring a Stop to the March of the Army till their Arrival; which he refused.

THE Prince therefore advancing for-*Orange* wards planted a Battery against and stormed *advances and attacks* the Suburb of *Cortona* that looks towards *Cortona* *Orsaia*, but was repulsed. In *Cortona* *tona*.

A. D. were Seven Hundred Foot, and in *Arezzo*

1529.

was a greater Number; but *Antonfrancesco de gli Albizi*, the Commissary, was inclined to abandon it for Fear lest the Prince, after taking *Cortona*, should leave *Arezzo* behind, and march towards *Florence*, and so, by preventing those Troops which were with him in *Arezzo*, should so far intimidate the *Florentines* as to induce them, for want of the readiest Succours which they had, to submit to a Composition. Wherefore, without public Consent, though, perhaps, with the tacit Intention of the Gonfalonier, he retired from *Arezzo* with all the Troops, leaving only Two Hundred Men in the Castle. But arriving at *Feghine*, by Advice of *Mala-testa*, who was there, and approved the drawing the Forces together for the Defence of *Florence*, he remanded a Thousand Foot to *Arezzo*, that it might not remain wholly abandoned.

Cortona
surrendered to
him.

BUT, on *September 17*, *Cortona*, which required a Thousand Men for its Defence, seeing the *Florentines* not very eager to provide for its Relief, and, perhaps, also apprised

apprised of the tottering Condition of *A. D.*
Arezzo, surrendered, tho' not much pressed by the Prince, with whom it compounded to pay Twenty Thousand Ducats. 1529.

THE Loss of *Cortona* gave Occasion to the Foot that were in *Arezzo*, not thinking themselves sufficient to defend it, to abandon that City, which on the 19th capitulated also with the Prince; but with Articles and Intentions of being governed rather by itself in Liberty under the Shadow of *Cæsar's* Protection, than of remaining any longer in Subjection to the *Florentines*, demonstrating the Falshood of the Profession, which the Inhabitants had but lately made of their being Friends to the *Medici*, and Enemies to the Popular Government. *As also Arezzo.*

By this time *Cæsar* had expressly declared that he was resolved to give no longer Audience to the *Florentine* Ambassadors, unless the *Medici* were restored; and *Orange*, tho' before the Ambassadors, who were about him, he detested, without Respect, the covetous Ambition of the Pope, and the Injustice of that Enterprise, *Orange detests the Pope's Enterprise against the Liberty of the Florentines.*

A. D.
1529.

prise, had however declared that he could not avoid prosecuting it without the Restitution of the *Medici*.

Number
and
Strength
of his
Army.

THE Prince finding himself at the Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, Two Thousand Five Hundred *Germans*, very fine Troops, Two Thousand *Spanish* Foot, Three Thousand *Italians*, under *Sciarra Colonna*, *Piermaria Rosso*, *Pierluigi da Farnese*, and *Giovanbattista Savello*, with whom afterwards join'd *Giovanni da Sassatello*, defrauding the *Florentines*, from whom he had accepted a Command in their Forces, of the Money he had received of them, and, after him, *Alessandro Vitelli*, who brought Three Thousand Foot, yet having but few Cannon requested the *Senese* to accommodate him. But that People, though in no Condition to refuse the Army of *Cæsar* the demanded Assistance, yet out of Hatred to the Pontiff, and a Jealousy of his Greatness, being not at all pleased with a Change of the Government of the *Florentines*, with whom, on account of the common Enmity to the Pope, they had
for

for many Months maintained a kind of *A. D.*
 tacit Peace and Intelligence, put in Or- ^{1529.}
 der the Artillery, but with all the Slowness
 they could possibly devise.

IN the mean time the Pope had given *Pope's*
 Audience to the *Florentine* Ambassadors, *Answer to*
 and answered them that he had no Design *the Floren-*
 to make any Change in the Liberty of the *tine Am-*
 City, but that he had been constrained to *bassadors.*
 undertake the Enterprize, not so much by
 the Injuries he had received from that
 Government, and by the Necessity of se-
 curing his own Estate, as by the Conven-
 tion made with *Cæsar*; and that his
 Honour being now interested in the Pro-
 secution of the Undertaking, he de-
 manded nothing of them, but that they
 would voluntarily put themselves in his
 Power, which done, he would demonstrate
 how much he had at Heart the Happiness
 of their common Country. And when
 he was afterwards informed that the *Flo-*
rentines, their Fears increasing, especially
 after they understood that their Ambassa-
 dors had been excluded by *Cæsar*, had
 elected new Ambassadors to be sent to him,
 imagin-

A. D. 1529. imagining that they were disposed to yield to him, and desirous of Expedition for preserving the Country from Ravage, he sent Post to the Army the Archbishop of *Capua*, who passing through *Florence* found a different Disposition from what he had been made to believe,

Orange
retarded
in his
March.

IN the mean time *Orange* advanced forwards, and on the 24th was arrived at *Monte Varchi*, in the *Val d'Arno*, eight Miles distant from *Florence*, expecting eight Cannon from *Siena*, which began to move the next Day; but, the same Slowness being used in their Conveyance as was in their Preparation, occasioned the Prince, who on the 27th was advanced with his Army as far as *Feghine* and *Ancisa*, to remain there encamped till the Fourth of *October*.

Motives
of the
Florentines
to an
Agree-
ment.

HENCE proceeded the Difficulty of that whole Enterprize; for, after the Loss of *Arezzo*, the *Florentines*, finding they were disappointed of their Hopes, and of the Promises made them from every Quarter, and the Fortifications that were making in the City

City on the Side of the Mountains not ^{A. D.} yet in such a Forwardness, though they ^{1529.} worked on them with the greatest Diligence and Sollicitude, as that, in the Opinion of the Soldiers, they could be put in a State of Defence within the Space of eight or ten Days; understanding also that the Enemy's Army marched forwards, and that *Ramazotto* being, by the Pope's Order, in Motion with Three Thousand Foot from the Side of *Bologna*, had passed *Firenzuola*, and was entered the *Mugello*, from whence it was feared, he would proceed to *Prato*; they were under a Consternation, and began to incline to an Agreement, and the sooner because many fled out of the Town for Fear; so that in a Council of the Magistracy of Ten, which is appointed to manage Affairs of War, at which were present the principal Citizens of that Government, it was the unanimous Opinion to dispatch away to *Rome* a free and ample Commission to submit themselves to the Will of the Pontiff. But a Report of this Resolution being made to the Supreme Magistracy, without whose Consent the Resolution could not

A. D.

1529.

not be taken, the Gonfalonier, who was obstinate in the contrary Opinion, opposed it, and being joined by the popular Magistracy of the Colleges, which participated of the Authority of the Tribunes of the common People of *Rome*, in which happened to be many Persons of evil Dispositions, and of great Temerity and Insolence, he prevailed so far, being supported also in his Opinion by the Incitements and Menaces of a Multitude of the Youth, that nothing was determined for this Day. It is however manifest that if the Prince, on the next Day, which was the 28th of *September*, had advanced one Encampment forwards, those who contradicted an Agreement would not have been able to resist the Inclination of all the rest. On such slight Causes too often depend the Moments of the most weighty Affairs!

Frustrated
by
Orange's
Want of
Expedi-
tion.

THIS needless Halt of *Orange*, which some interpreted as made on purpose to cherish the War, since there was no Necessity of Artillery for approaching near to *Florence*, was the Cause that many in the City resumed Courage, and, what was of more

more Importance, the Works, which was A. D. 1529.
 continued without the least Intermission
 by a vast Number of Hands, were so far
 advanced, that, before *Orange* moved
 from that Camp, the Fortifications were
 judged by the Officers to be in a State of
 Defence. Hence all Inclination to an Agree-
 ment ceasing, the City became obstinately
 bent on defending itself; it happening also,
 for a further Security to their Hopes, that
Ramazotto, who had brought with him a
 Rabble of Peasants without Money, and
 without Pay, and was come with a Dis-
 position not to fight but to rob, as soon
 as he had plundered all the *Mugello*,
 retired with his Booty into the *Bolognese*,
 where he dismissed all his Troops, who had
 sold him the greatest Part of their Plunder.
 Thus instead of an easy War, and what
 would have been finished with small Da-
 mage to any one, there resulted a most
 grievous and most pernicious War, which
 could not be finished but by the Destruc-
 tion of all the Country, and reducing the
 City to the Brink of utter Desolation.

A. D.

1529.

Orange's
Army
before
Florence.

ON the Fifth of *October*, *Orange* moved from *Feghine*, but marched so slowly in Expectation of the Artillery from *Siena*, which was not far off, that he did not arrive with all his Troops and Cannon in the Plain of *Ripoli*, Two Miles from *Florence*, before the Twentieth; and on the Twenty-fourth he encamped with all his Army on the Hills near the Fortifications, one Part of the Troops posting themselves upon the higher Grounds that overlook the City all along from the Gate of *San Miniato* to that of *San Giorgio*, while another Wing extended themselves from over-against the Gate of *San Miniato* as far as the Road from the Gate of *San Nicolo*.

Strength
of the Flo-
rentines.

IN *Florence* were Eight Thousand Foot, good Troops; and a Resolution had been taken to defend *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Empoli*, *Pisa*, and *Livorno*, in all which Towns were placed sufficient Garrisons. As to the other Places the *Florentines* chose rather to entrust them to the Fidelity and Disposition of the People, and to the Strength of their Situation, than to put large

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large Bodies of Troops in them for their Defence. A. D. 1529.

BUT now all the Country was full of Sad State Adventurers and Free-booters, and the of *Tuscany* *Senese* not only plundered every where, but also sent Troops to seize on *Montepulciano*, in Hopes that the Prince would afterwards consent to their keeping Possession of it; but some *Florentine* Foot being in the Place, it was luckily defended, and not long after *Napoleone Orsino*, in the Pay of the *Florentines*, arrived there with Three Hundred Horse, nothaving thought fit to leave the *Roman* Territories till the Pontiff had set out for *Bologna*.

ORANGE having encamped his Army, Siege of and extended their Quarters to a wide Di- *Florence*. stance on the Hills of *Montici Gallo*, and *Giramonte*, and having procured Pioneers and some small Pieces of Artillery from the *Lucchese*, caused a Rampart to be cast up, with a Design, as it was thought, to storm the Bastion of *San Miniato*, while, on the other Side, the Besieged, to annoy that Work, planted four Pieces of Cannon

A. D. non on a Cavalier erected in the Garden of
 1529. *San Miniato*. The Prince soon got Possession by surrender of the Towns of *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, Places of Importance for facilitating the Convoys of Provisions from *Siena*. On the Twenty-ninth, *Orange* planted four Cannon on a Redoubt of *Giramonte* against the Steeple of *San Miniato*, in order to beat it down, because the Army was greatly annoyed by a Saker planted on it; but in a few Hours two of the Pieces burst. Wherefore the next Day the Besiegers brought thither another Cannon, but after making about One Hundred and Fifty Shot in vain, without being able to dismount the Saker, they ceased firing. The Siege of *Florence* being now considered by all as a very difficult Undertaking, especially by one Army alone, the Operations began to proceed slowly, rather with Skirmishes than after the Manner of a Siege. On the Second of *November* there was a great Skirmish at the Bastions of *San Giorgio* and *San Nicolo*, and in the *Roman Way*; and on the Fourth a Culverin was planted on *Giramonte* against the Town-house, which
 was

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was opened at the first Shot. While this A. D.
1529. passed, the Cavalry of the Town made an Excursion into the *Valdipesa*, and took One Hundred Horses, most of them serviceable; and some Horse and Harquebussiers marched out of *Ponte d'Era*, and took Sixty Horses between the *Capanne* and the Tower of *San Romano*.

AT this Time the Pontiff being arrived at *Bologna*, *Cæsar*, as is usual with great Princes, came hither after him. For it is the Custom, when two Princes are to come together, for him who is of the greater Dignity to present himself first at the Place appointed, it being esteemed a Mark of Reverence in the Inferior to go to meet with him. *Cæsar* was received by the Pope with very great Honour, and lodged in the same Palace, where they had Rooms contiguous to each other; and it seemed by all the Signs, and the Familiarity that appeared between them; as if they had constantly maintained the greatest mutual Benevolence, and lived in perfect Harmony.

M

THEY

178 THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1529. THEY were now freed from all Apprehensions of an Invasion from the *Turks*; for their Army, which had presented itself, with the Person of the Sultan, before *Vienna*, that had a very strong Garrison of *German* Foot, had not only given several Assaults in vain, but were repulsed with very great Slaughter. Hence despairing of Conquest, and especially because they had no heavy Cannon for Battery, and being also pinched by the Weather, which is very sharp in those Countries, it being the Month of *October*, they broke up the Siege, and retired, not to some neighbouring Quarters, but towards *Constantinople*, a March of Three Months.

CÆSAR therefore finding himself secure from all Apprehensions on that Side, which had before inclined him, notwithstanding his Acquisition of *Pavia*, to agree with the Duke of *Milan*, and also induced him to persuade the Pontiff to think on some Method for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*, that, having rid his Hands of the Affairs of *Italy*, he might pass with all his Troops into *Germany* to the Succour
of

of *Vienna* and of his Brother, this Fear ^{A. D. 1529.}
 now ceasing, began to treat with the Pontiff about their Concerns in *Italy*.

What gave the Pontiff most Sollicitude on this Head was the Enterprize against the *Florentines*, on which *Cæsar* also was much bent, as well to satisfy the Pope by observing the Articles of the Convention at *Barcelona*, as because the City being imagined always inclined to the Service of the Crown of *France*, he was pleased with its Depressiō. For these Reasons the *Florentines* having sent Four Embassadors to the Bope in *Bologna*, who solicited an Audience of *Cæsar*, he would never grant it, except once, when the Pontiff desired it, from whom also he took the Substance of the Answer that he made them. Wherefore it was concluded to continue the Enterprize; and, because it proved more difficult than the Pontiff had imagined, it was resolved to employ in it the Troops that were in *Lombardy*, and in *Cæsar's* Pay, if an Opportunity offered for a Composition with the *Venetians* and *Francesco Sforza*; and that the Pope should pay each Month to the Prince of *Orange*, who

Pope and
Cæsar re-
 solve on
 prosecut-
 ing the
 War a-
 gainst *Flo-*
rence.

A. D. 1529. was come to *Bologna* to treat of those Affairs, Sixty Thousand Ducats for maintaining those Troops that were already before *Florence*, *Cæsar* being in no Condition to support such great Expences.

Debate on the Property of *Modena* and *Reggio*. AFTER this a Debate was held on other Concerns of the Pontiff relating to the Affairs of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in which the Pope, to avoid the Charge of Obstinacy, having proposed the same Objection which he had ready at Hand, and on which he had often harped, that if the Question related only to these Towns, it would not be difficult to adjust the Matter to *Cæsar*'s Satisfaction; but that, by alienating *Modena* and *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* would remain separated from the Ecclesiastic State, so as to become of consequence in a manner also alienated; *Cæsar* answered that the Point deserved Consideration, but while the Forces were employed in the Enterprize of *Florence*, he could only make Trial of his Authority. But in his Heart he could have wished that, with the Pope's good Pleasure, these Cities might be given to the Duke of *Ferrara*,

rara, with whom, in his Progress to *Bo-* A. D.
1529.
logna, he had a Conference at *Modena*, and
had given him Hopes of using his utmost
Endeavours with the Pontiff for accom-
modating his Affairs. So artfully had that
Duke insinuated himself into his Favour,
and had also the Address to gain the Af-
fections of those who had an Interest with
Cæsar, so that he did not want great
Friends in that Court.

THERE remained two Articles of more Reason in-
clining
Cæsar to
Peace.
Difficulty and Importance, which related
to the *Venetians*, and to *Francesco Sforza*.
Though *Cæsar* had not come into *Italy*
with an Inclination to make an Agreement
with these Powers, especially with *Fran-*
cesco, yet meeting with greater Difficulties
in the Course of his Affairs than he had
imagined in *Spain*, and finding it not easy
to acquire the State of *Milan* since the
new Alliance which *Francesco Sforza* had
made with the *Venetians*, and further also
that he had involved himself in vast Ex-
pences for maintaining so many Troops as
he had brought out of *Spain* and *Germany*,
he abated of his former Stiffness. And he

A. D. 1529. was much the more pliable, because solicited by his Brother to pass into *Germany*, on account of the Tumults of the *Lutherans*, and of other Signs of Innovations which appeared in that Country, whither it was also probable the *Turks* would sometime return. For it was very well known that *Solyman*, when he broke up from *Vienna*, fired with Shame and Indignation, had sworn that he would soon return with a much greater Force. It appearing also to *Cæsar* not only unsafe, but hardly honourable to depart out of *Italy*, and leave Things imperfect, he began to incline his Mind, not only to make an Agreement with the *Venetians*, but also to pardon *Francesco Sforza*, for which the Pontiff made great Instances, being desirous of universal Quiet, and that *Cæsar* finding himself disengaged from other Enterprises might turn all his Arms against *Florence*.

WHAT stuck with *Cæsar* more than any Thing else was, that he fancied it would not be for his Dignity to have it believed that he was induced in a manner by Necessity to pardon *Francesco Sforza*;
And

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And *Antonio da Leva*, who attended him A. D.
1529.
in *Bologna*, made all possible Instances with him to take some other Resolution concerning that State, proposing sometimes *Alessandro* the Pope's Nephew, sometimes others. But it being a difficult Matter to confer that State on any Person with whom *Italy* would rest contented, and the Pope having no Inclination to solicit for his Kindred, it being an Affair not to be accomplished without new Wars and new Troubles, *Cæsar* at last, inclining to this Opinion, consented to grant to *Francesco Sforza* a safe Conduct, under the Colour of coming before him to justify himself, but in fact to reduce Matters to some Composition, the *Venetians* also consenting to his Coming, because they hoped at the same time to introduce an Accommodation of their own Disputes.

Cæsar
sends for
Sforza.

THE Operations of War however were continued in *Lombardy*; for *Belgiojoso*, who in the Absence of *Antonio da Leva* commanded in *Milan*, march'd at the Head of Seven Thousand Foot to besiege *Sant' Angelo*, in which were four Companies

A. D. of Foot of the *Venetians* and the Duke of
 1529. *Milan*, and after battering the Place,
 taking the Advantage of a continued
 Rain, that rendered useleſs the Harque-
 buſſes which defended the Wall without
 Covert, he cauſed his Men to approach
 covered with Targats, and with Swords
 and Pikes gave the Aſſault, he himſelf
 courageouſly advancing among the reſt;
 but the Defendants not being able to keep
 their Matches lighted in their Hands, and
 being neceſſitated to fight with other
 Weapons, began to be diſmayed and
 broken, and abandon the Walls, ſo that
 the Enemy finding an Entrance, they
 were all killed or made Priſoners. Af-
 ter this he had a Deſign to paſs the *Adda*,
 and Part of the Army having croſſed it
 by a Bridge laid at *Casiano* ſome Compa-
 nies of new-liſted *Spaniards* went off and
 took their Way to *Milan*; but he pre-
 vented them by cauſing that City to take
 Arms, ſo that not being able to enter
 the Place they returned back to the Ar-
 my.

Imperia-
 liſts take
*Fort An-
 gelo* by
 Storm.

BUT

BUT notwithstanding this Success, and that the *Germans* were advanced into the Territories of the *Venetians*, the Nego-^{*Sforza*}tations of Peace were so closely prosecuted that all Thoughts of War were ^{appears before}*Cæsar*, ceased. For *Francesco Sforza*, as soon as he arrived at *Bologna*, presenting himself before *Cæsar*, and making his Acknowledgments for the Favour vouchsafed him in granting him Leave to come into his Presence, humbly represented to him that he had so much Confidence in his Justice, that, with relation to whatever had happened before he was blocked up, by the Marquis of *Pescara*, in the Castle of *Milan*, he desired no other Security or Safeguard than his own Innocence, and therefore, as far as regarded those Matters, renounced his Safe Conduct; and having the Paper in his Hand, he threw it before him: With which Behaviour of *Sforza Cæsar* was highly satisfied,

IT took up about a Month to debate on the Difficulties of an Accommodation with *Sforza* and the *Venetians*, which at last was concluded

A. D. concluded with both on the 23^d of *December*, the Pope taking a world of Pains about it. By the Peace *Francesco* was obliged to pay to *Cæsar*, within the Space of One Year, Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, and Five Hundred Thousand Ducats more within Ten Years, that is Fifty Thousand every Year, *Cæsar* keeping Possession of *Como* and the Castle of *Milan*, which has obliged himself to resign to *Francesco* on the First Year's Payments; he gave him also the Investiture, or confirmed that which had been given him before. To satisfy the Payments, and to make Presents to the great Men about *Cæsar*, *Sforza* laid very heavy Taxes on the City of *Milan*, and on the whole Dutchy, tho' the People were exhausted by the long and cruel Wars, and by Famine and Pestilence.

1529.
Cæsar
 makes
 Peace with
Sforza
 and the
Venetians.

Articles
 with
Sforza.

Articles
 with the
Venetians.

THE *Venetians* were to restore to the Pontiff *Ravenna* and *Cervia* with their Territories, saving their Rights, and the Pontiff pardoning all those who had conspired or acted against him. They were to restore to *Cæsar*, before the End of *January* next, all that they possessed in the Kingdom

Kingdom of *Naples*. They were obliged A. D. 1529. to pay to *Cæsar* the Remainder of the Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, due by the Third Article of the last Peace contracted between them, that is, Twenty Five Thousand Ducats within the next ensuing Month, and Twenty Five Thousand each Year afterwards, but on Condition that their Places should be restored to them within one Year, if they should not be restored according to the Tenor of the said Peace, or the Differences adjusted by common Arbitrators. They were to pay the Exiles each Year Five Thousand Ducats for the Revenues of their Estates, as it had been ordered by the aforesaid Peace. *Cæsar* was to have of them One Hundred Thousand Ducats more, Half within Ten Months, and the other Half a Year after. The Rights of the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, reserved to him in the Convention at *Worms*, against the King of *Hungary*, were to be decided. There was to be included in this Peace and Confederacy the Duke of *Urbino*, as an Adherent to, and in the Protection of the *Venetians*. They were to pardon Count *Brunoro da Gambara*; Commerce

A. D. 1529. merce was to be free to all Subjects of both Sides, and no Receptacle was to be given to Pirates, to the Disturbance of any of the Parties. It shall be lawful for the *Venetians* to continue in the peaceful Possession of all that they hold. They shall restore all those who have been declared Rebels, on account of their Adherence to *Maximilian*, to *Cæsar*, and to the King of *Hungary*, down to the Year 1523. But this Restitution shall not extend to Goods confiscated. There shall be between the said Parties; not only a Peace, but a perpetual League defensive for the States of *Italy* against any Christian Power. *Cæsar* promises that the Duke of *Milan* shall keep continually on Foot in his State Five Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, with a good Train of Artillery for the Defence of the *Venetians*, who shall do the same for the Defence of the Duke of *Milan*; and if any one of these States be molested, the other shall not suffer any Convoy of Provisions or Ammunition, nor Couriers, nor Ambassadors of the molesting Power to pass through their Dominions, and shall

THE WARS IN ITALY. 189

shall prohibit all Assistance from their Territories, and Passage through them to this Potentate and to his Troops. If any Christian Prince, tho' of the highest Dignity, shall attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, the *Venetians* shall be bound to assist it with Fifteen Light Gallies, well armed. In this Treaty shall be comprehended those whom all the nominated, or to be nominated, shall recommend, tho' with no further Obligation to the *Venetians* for Defence. If the Duke of *Ferrara* shall agree with the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, it is intended that he shall be included in this Confederacy.

IN execution of this Convention *Cæsar* restored *Milan*, and the whole Dutchy to *Francesco Sforza*, and removed all the Soldiers, except those that were necessary for the Guard of the City, which he afterwards restored also at the Time agreed, and the *Venetians* restored to the Pontiff the Towns of *Romagna*, and to *Cæsar* the Places which they held in *Puglia*.

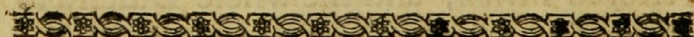
End of the XIXth Book.



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W A R S in I T A L Y.



B O O K XX.



C O N T E N T S.

War against the Florentines, in which the Prince of Orange is killed. The Florentines, after a long Siege, subdued by Famine, submit to Cæsar, who appoints Aleffandro d' Medici Head of their Republic. Cæsar, after receiving the Imperial

THE WARS IN ITALY. 191

rial Crown in Bologna, takes a Progress into Germany, from whence he returns, and has another Interview with the Pope in Bologna. The Pope, to shew himself a common Father, has, after this, an Interview with the King of France at Mar-seilles, where a Marriage is agreed be-tween Henry, the King's Second Son, and the Pope's Niece Catarina. The Pope, soon after his Return to Rome, sickens and dies, and is succeeded by Cardinal Farneſe, who takes the Name of Paul III.

T HIS Peace and Confederacy A. D. 1529.
 put an End to those long and
 burdensome Wars, which had
 continued above Eight Years,
 with so many shocking Events, and all *Italy*
 remained free from the tumultuous Noise
 and Perils of Arms, except the City of
Florence, the War of which had con-
 duced to the Peace of the rest, but the
 Peace of the rest aggravated its War. For
 as soon as the Difficulties, which were
 under Debate, were digested, so as to
 leave no Room to doubt of bringing the
 Agreement to Perfection, *Cæſar* having
 removed

A. D. removed his Troops from the State of the
 1529. *Venetians*, sent Four Thousand *German*
 War prosecuted against the *Florentines* Foot, Two Thousand Five Hundred *Spanish* Foot, Eight Hundred *Italians*, and
 above Three Hundred Light Horse with
 Twenty Five Pieces of Artillery, to the
 War against the *Florentines*, in which there
 happened very few Actions, and those
 hardly worth relating, the Besiegers not
 having Resolution enough to assault the
 City, and those within having no Inclination
 to try Fortune; for they imagined
 they had sufficient Means to defend themselves
 for many Months, and were in Hopes
 that the Enemy, either for Want of Money,
 or from other Accidents, would not be
 able to continue long in that Station.

Orange
 takes *La-stra*.

Now the Prince had sent Fifteen Hundred Foot, and Four Hundred Horse, with Four Pieces of Cannon, to take *La-stra*, in which were Three Colours of Foot; and, before Succours could arrive from *Florence* the Place was taken, with the Slaughter of about Two Hundred of the Garrison.

IT

THE WARS IN ITALY. 193

IT happened that, on the Night of the Eleventh of *December*, *Stefano Colonna*, with One Thousand Harquebusiers, and 400 between Halberds and Partisans, all in Corselets, and, after the *Spanish* Custom, with their Shirts over their Arms, attacked the Regiment of *Sciarra Colonna* quartered in the Houses near the Church of *Santa Margherita a Montici*, and killed and took a great Number without losing a Man.

A. D.
1529.
Action to
the Advan-
tage of the
Florentines

ABOUT this Time *Mario Orfino*, and *Giulio da Santa Croce* were both killed with one Cannon Shot in the Garden of *San Miniato*: And *Pirro da Castel di Piero*, being on his March to attack *Montopoli*, a Town in the Territory of *Pisa*, was intercepted between *Palaia* and *Montopoli* by the Garrison of *Empoli*, routed, and many of his Men taken Prisoners. *Napoleone Orfino*, with One Hundred and Fifty Horse, was sent by the *Florentines* to *Borgo a San Sepolcro*, to put a Stop to the Ravages which *Alessandro Vitelli* continually committed in the Country about *Borgo* and *Angiari*.

Melan-
choly Ac-
cident.

Various
Success.

N

BUT

A. D. BUT as soon as the Troops lately ordered by *Cæsar* had passed the *Appennines*, ^{1529.} *Pistoja*, and afterwards *Prato*, being abandoned by the *Florentine* Garrisons, surrendered to the Pontiff. Wherefore that New Army, having no Impediment behind them, did not go and join the other Troops, but stopped at another Part of the *Arno*, encamping at *Peretola*, near the Walls of the City, under the Command of the Marquis *Del Guasto*, tho' the Prince of *Orange* was Commander in Chief of all the Forces, the Operations being now reduc'd to a Blockade rather than to a formal Siege. At this Time *Pietra Santa* also surrendered to the Pontiff.

Malatesta AT the End of this Year the Pontiff, at Captain General of the Sollicitation of *Malatesta Baglione*, who gave him Hopes of an Agreement, sent directly to him at *Florence* *Ridolfo Pio*, Bishop of *Faenza*, with whom Debates were held on various Affairs, partly with the Knowledge of the City for its Benefit, partly in secret by *Malatesta* against the City, which had no other Effect. It was rather believed that *Malatesta*, whose Term of Pay was expiring, had artfully held them

THE WARS IN ITALY. 195

them, that the *Florentines*, for fear of being abandoned by him, might take him anew into their Service with the Title of Captain General, which he obtained.

THE Enterprife against *Florence* was prosecuted in the Year 1530, when, tho' *Orange*, by beginning to erect new Cavaliers, and to draw new Trenches, made a Show as if he intended to batter the Bastions at a nearer Distance, and especially that of *San Giorgio*, which was very strong, yet partly for want of Skill, and partly for the Difficulty of the Thing, the Design was not put in Execution, *Stefano Colonna* being entrusted with the Guard of all the Mount.

IN the Beginning of this Year the *Florentines*, taking Hopes from the Negotiations with the Bishop of *Faenza*, sent anew Ambassadors to the Pontiff, and to *Cæsar*, but with precise Orders to hearken to nothing that should be offered for changing the Government, or diminishing their Authority, so that disagreeing in the principal Article, and not being able to obtain an Audience of *Cæsar*, they soon returned

A. D.
1530.

Siege of
Florence
continues.

Embassy
of the *Florentines*
fruitless.

A. D. 1530. to *Florence*, without concluding any Thing.

Resoluti-
on of the
Florentins

IN *Florence* were Nine or Ten Thousand good Foot, but paid after the Rate of above Fourteen Thousand; whence the Soldiers defended the City with great Readiness of Affection and Fidelity, in which the more to confirm them, all the General Officers, convoked in the Church of *San Nicolo*, after hearing Mass, took, in the Presence of *Malatesta*, a solemn Oath to defend the City till Death. The only Person who, in this general Constancy of the *Italians*, shewed himself inconstant, was *Napoleone Orsino*, who, after receiving Money of the *Florentines*, returned to *Bracciano*, and compounded his Affairs with the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, and promised that some Officers whom he had sent to *Florence* should leave that City.

Napoleone Orsino quits their Service.

BUT the Pontiff, not to be wanting in the utmost Diligence for obtaining his Ends, procured that the King of *France* should send M. *de Clermont* to *Florence*, to excuse the Agreement he had made from
the

the Necessity of recovering his Children, ^{A. D. 1530.} and the Impossibility of getting the *Florentines* included in it, exhorting them to an Accommodation on any Terms, provided they were beneficial, and consistent with the Preservation of Liberty, and offering in a manner his Mediation. He commanded also *Malatesta* and *Stefano Colonna*, as Servants of the King, and strictly charged them, to depart out of *Florence*, though apart and in secret he advised them to the contrary. But what contributed more to the Loss of the Reputation, and to the Terror of the People, was that, to satisfy the Pontiff and *Cæsar*, the King recalled his Ambassador *M. de Vigny* ordinarily resident in *Florence*, leaving them however, as a private Person, *Æmile Ferrier*, that they might not wholly despair, and also secretly promising to assist them as soon as he had recovered his Children. He was also on the Point of dismissing the *Florentine* Ambassador from his Court, the Pontiff using all Arts and Means for his Dismission. With this View he sent by *Tarbes* a Cardinal's Hat to the Chancellor, and not long after the

French Ambassador leaves Florence.

A. D. 1530. Legateship of the Kingdom of *France*,
 Tarbes was also employed by the Pontiff
 to set on foot a Treaty for a new Inter-
 view between *Cæsar*, the King of *France*,
 and himself at *Turin*. But Answer was
 made to *Tarbes*, in the King's Council,
 that while the Children remained in Pri-
 son it would be Folly for the King to go
 and wilfully run himself into the same
 Condition.

THE Pontiff and *Cæsar* appointed
 afterwards to go to *Siena*, that they might
 be nearer at hand for favouring the En-
 terprise against *Florence*, and after that to
 proceed to *Rome*, where *Cæsar* was to
 receive the Imperial Crown. But as they
 were on the Point of setting out, whether
 it was a true or a feigned Resolution,
 arrived Letters from *Germany*, solliciting
Cæsar's Presence in that Country, the
 Electors and Princes being urgent with
 him, on account of the Diet, *Ferdinand* that
 he might be elected King of the *Romans*,
 and others with a View to a Council.
 Desisting therefore from his Intention of
 proceeding further, he received the Im-
 perial

perial Crown in *Bologna*, amidst a great *A. D.*
 Concourse, but with little Pomp and Cost, *1530.*
 on the Festival of *St. Matthias*, a Day to *Cæsar*
 him of the greatest Prosperity, for on that crowned
 Day he was born, on the same had taken at *Bologna*
 the King of *France* Prisoner, and on that
 Day he assumed the Ensigns and Orna-
 ments of the Imperial Dignity.

CÆSAR however, before his Depart- *Pope and*
 ture, had a Regard to the Reconciliation *D. of Fer-*
 of the Duke of *Ferrara* with the Pontiff. *rarchuse*
 The Duke on the 7th of *March* repaired *Cæsar Ar-*
 to *Bologna* under a safe Conduct, when, *bitrator.*
 no other Way being found to terminate
 their Differences, they made a Com-
 promise, both as to Right and Fact, of
 all their Controversies, in the Person of
Cæsar: To which the Pontiff was induced
 by the general Notion of the Compromise
 including in it the Controversy about
Ferrara, which, it was not doubted, was,
 according to Law, devolved to the Apo-
 stolic See, and therefore he fancied that
Cæsar had an easy Way, by enjoining him
 Silence touching *Ferrara*, to restore to
 him *Modena* and *Reggio*; and because

A. D. *Cæsar* had passed his Word to him, that if
 1530. he should find that he had a Right to those
 two Cities he would pronounce Judgment,
 but if he found it otherwise he would
 then leave the Compromise to expire.
 And, to secure the Observance of the
 Sentence that should be given, they agreed
 that the Duke should deposit *Modena* in
 the Hands of *Cæsar*, at whose Instances
 he had before recalled his Ambassador from
Florence, and sent Pioneers to the Army.

Cæsar de-
parts for
Germany.

AFTER this *Cæsar* set out from *Bologna*
 on the 22d of *March*, the Pontiff pro-
 fessing to him his Intention to consent to
 a Council, if it should be judged of Ser-
 vice for extirpating the Heresy of the
Lutherans. *Cæsar* was attended by the
 Legate Cardinal *Campeggio*, and when he
 was arrived at *Mantua* he received Sixty
 Thousand Ducats from the Duke of *Fer-*
rara, on which Consideration he granted
 him the Town of *Carpi* in perpetual Fee.
 The Pontiff also quitted *Bologna* on the
 31st, and set out towards *Rome*, the Af-
 fairs of *Florence* remaining under the same
 Difficulties.

THE

THE Imperialists gave many Signs of *A. D.*
 an Intention to storm the City of *Florence*, ^{1530.}
 for which Purpose they worked on the *Siege of*
 Trench before the Bastion of *San Giorgio*, *Florence.*
 where on the 21st of *March* was a great
 Skirmish, in which the Besiegers received
 a considerable Loss. On the 25th
Orange battered the Tower at the Side of
 the Bastion of *San Giorgio* towards the
Roman Gate, because it greatly annoyed
 the Army; but finding it very solid, after
 spending much Powder and Ball, he de-
 sisted. Not a Day passed without a Con-
 flux of more Troops to the Army, for as
 there were no Wars, nor any Plunder to
 be got elsewhere in *Italy*, the Damages
 and Ruin of the Country of the *Floren-*
tines continually increased.

THE City of *Volterra* had surrendered
 to the Pontiff, but the Castle holding out
 for the *Florentines* was battered, in the
 Name of the Imperialists, by two Can-
 nons and three Culverins brought from
Genoa. The *Florentines*, desirous to relieve
 it, ordered to *Empoli* One Hundred and
 Fifty Horse, and five Colours of Foot.
 The

A. D. The Infantry marched out by Night, and

1530.

passed through the Camp near *Monte Uliveto*, but being discovered by the Enemy some Horse were dispatched after them, who came up with them, but on receiving the Fire of the Harquebusiers retired with some Loss; and the Horse, which had marched out of *Florence* by another Way behind the Camp, arrived at the same time with the Foot in Safety at *Empoli*, where they were received by *Francesco Ferruccio*, Commissary of that Place. This Officer, having been sent, in the Beginning of the War, by the *Florentines* to *Empoli*, Commissary of a small Body of Horse, with very little Authority, had, in the Progress of the War, by the Commodiousness of the Situation, and by the Opportunities of frequent Booties, got together a good Number of choice Soldiers, with whom, by his Boldness and Liberality, having worked himself into great Reputation, the *Florentines* had no mean Expectations of him. *Ferruccio* then marched from *Empoli* with Two Thousand Foot and One Hundred and Fifty Horse, and making great Speed entered

entered the Castle of *Volterra* on the 26th A. D. of *April*, three Hours before Night, and ^{1530.} after allowing the Soldiers some Time for Refreshment, immediately assaulted the Town, which was defended by *Giovam-* City of *battista Borghese* with a few Foot, and *Volterra* made himself Master before Night of ^{retaken by} *Ferruccio*. two Entrenchments, so that the next Morning the City was yielded, and he gained also the Cannon that was transported from *Genoa*. He now applied himself to draw Money by manifold Extorsions from the Inhabitants of *Volterra*, and the Number of his Soldiers continually increasing, he had like to have caused *San Gimignano* and *Colle* to revolt, and by intercepting the Provisions that came by that Rout from *Siena*, would have greatly distressed the Imperial Army, whose Generals now placing all their Hopes in a Blockade, the Marquis *del Guasto* drew off the Artillery to *Prato*. But *Maramaus* fortunately arriving in those Quarters with Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot not in Pay, (a Relief come, so uncertain are the Affairs of War! contrary to the Will of the Pontiff) checked the Career of *Ferruccio*, by marching

A. D. marching and encamping with his Troops
 1530. in the Suburb of *Volterra*.

Florentines
 hope for
 Assistance
 from
France.

On the 9th of *May* was a great Skirmish without the *Roman Gate*, in which the Besieged had One Hundred and Thirty Men killed and wounded, and the Besiegers above Two Hundred, among whom was killed *Baragnino*, a *Spanish* General Officer. The *Florentines* still expected some Assistance from the King of *France*, who continued to promise them very considerable Succours as soon as he had recovered his Children; and, to feed them in the mean time with Hopes, he gave an Assignment to the *Florentine* Merchants for Twenty Thousand Ducats, due to them long before, that they might lend them to the City, which were brought to *Pisa* by *Luigi Alamanni*, but at several times, so that they proved of little Service. There came also to *Pisa* *Giampaolo da Ceri*, hired by the *Florentines* for the Guard of that City.

Empoli
 taken and
 sacked.

BUT the Recovery of *Volterra* produced a much greater Loss to the *Florentines*;

tines; for *Ferruccio*, contrary to the Orders he had received, had left so small a Garrison in *Empoli*, confiding in the Strength of the Place, and that he might go the stronger to *Volterra*, hat the Imperialists, encouraged with Hopes of taking it, marched under the Command of the Marquis *del Guasto*, and laid Siege to it, and with very little Loss took it by Force, and put it to the Sack. The Loss of this Place afflicted the *Florentines* more than any other Event that had happened in that War. For, having designed to assemble a fresh Body of Troops in that Place, they were in Hopes from the Conveniency of its Situation, which is very considerable, to reduce the Army that lay encamped on that Part of the *Arno* under great Difficulties, and to open a Way for conveying Provisions to the City, which already suffered greatly by Dearth.

BESIDES this they had a new Occasion given them for desponding still more, and giving up the Hopes they had conceived: For the King of *France* having, in the Beginning of *June*, paid *Cæsar* the Money

Florentines disappointed of French Succours.

A. D. 1530. ney according to their Agreement, and had his Children restored to him, instead of such great Assistances as he had always said he reserved for that Time, at the Instances of the Pontiff, who, to get the *French* Ministers wholly at his Devotion, created the Bishop of *Tarbes*, the King's Ambassador resident with him, a Cardinal, sent *Pierfrancesco da Pontriemoli*, a Confident of his, into *Italy*, to negotiate a Treaty of Agreement with the *Florentines*, who, on this Account, lost all Hopes of Assistanee from the King, since also he together with the King of *England* did their utmost in concert to conciliate to themselves the Pontiff, so as to give them Hopes of separating him from *Cæsar*, and with this View the King of *France* laboured to gain some Share of his Favour and Acknowledgments, by causing the *Florentines* to come under his Power.

Imperia-
lists repul-
sed from
Volterra.

As soon as the Marquis *del Guasto* had taken *Empoli* he marched with those Troops to join *Maramaus* in the Suburb of *Volterra*; and making together Six
Thousand

Thousand Foot they set about battering the Place, and having made a Breach of about Forty Braces, they gave three Assaults in vain, with the Loss of above Four Hundred Men. They then erected a new Battery, and gave a vigorous Assault with *Italian* and *Spanish* Foot mixed together, but were repulsed with greater Loss than in the former Assault, so that the Siege was raised.

THE same Day, an Hour before Light, *Stefano Colonna* sallied out of the Gate of *Faenza*, and *Malatesta* out of the Postern of *Prato*, with Three Thousand Foot, their Shirts over their Arms, to attack the *Germans* quartered in the Monastery of *San Donato*, which they had fortified. *Stefano* passed the Trenches, and killed many of the Enemy, but the rest in the mean time getting in Order, made a resolute Defence; and *Stefano*, wounded in the Mouth, and in the privy Member, tho' but slightly, retired, not daring to tarry long for fear of Succours, and grievously complaining of *Malatesta* for not seconding him.

A. D. 1530. THE Dearth of Provisions increased in Florence, which no longer received Supplies from any Quarter, and yet the Obstinacy of the People was not at all diminished; and *Ferruccio* being come from *Volterra* to *Pisa*, and assembling as many Troops as possible, all the Hopes of the *Florentines* rested on his Arrival. For they had sent him Orders, that by any Way, and at all Hazards, he should put himself on his March to come to them, designing, as soon as he had joined the Troops in *Florence*, to march out and attack the Enemy. In this Design the Happiness of the Success was no greater than the Rashness of the Resolution had been extraordinary, if those Counsels can be called rash which are prompted by the last Necessity; for a Passage must be made through hostile Countries, in the Possession of a very numerous Army, tho' dispersed into many Places.

THE Prince, having Notice of the Design, took a Part of the Army, and, reinforcing it with several Bodies of *Italian* Foot, having perhaps, as the *Florentines* supposed,

supposed, received private Assurances from *Malatesta Baglione*, with whom he held very close Correspondence, that he would not attack the Army in his Absence, put himself on his March to encounter *Ferruccio*; and finding him near *Cavinana*, in the Mountain of *Pistoja*, which Road he had taken in passing from *Pisa*, on the Side of *Lucca*, out of Confidence in the Faction of the *Cancellieri*, which affected popular Government, attacked him with a much superior Force. Here the Prince, performing rather the Duty of a private Man at Arms than of a General, rashly pushing himself forwards, was killed; his Troops however obtained the Victory, in which, among many others, were taken *Giampaolo da Ceri*, and also *Ferruccio*, who being thus a Prisoner, was killed by *Ma-* *Ferruccio*
massacred *ramaus*, out of a Spleen, as it was said, conceived against him, when, in the Siege of *Volterra*, he ordered a Trumpet, whom he had sent into the Place with a certain Message, to be hanged.

THE *Florentines*, thus abandoned of all divine and human Assistance, and the Fa-
 O mine

A. D.
1530.
Distress
and Obsti-
nacy of
the Flo-
rentines.

mine prevailing without any further Hopes of Relief, yet greater was the Obstinacy of those who opposed an Agreement. These Men, induced by the last Desperation not to suffer their own Ruin to be unattended with the Destruction of their Country, and no longer debating whether they or others of the Citizens should die to save their Country, but willing to have their Country perish together with them, were also followed by many, who had an Impression on their Mind that God would certainly vouchsafe miraculous Assistance, but that it would not appear before Affairs were reduced to such Extremities as to be in a manner quite without Resource. And there was Danger that the War would end with the utter Extermination of that City, because the Magistrates, and almost all those who had the public Authority in their Hands, concurred in this Obstinacy, there remaining no Room for others, who were of contrary Sentiments, to offer any thing in Contradiction for Fear of the Magistrates, and the Menaces of Arms, if *Malatesta Baglione*, knowing the Case remediless, had not in a manner forced

Malatesta
& Necessity
compel them
to a Sub-
mission.

forced them to agree; induced perhaps A. D. 1530. meerly by Pity to see so famous a City wholly ruined by the Madness of its Citizens, and the Disgrace and Damage that would result to himself from being present at so great a Desolation; but much more, as it is supposed, from the Hopes of obtaining Leave of the Pope, by means of this Agreement, to return to *Perugia*. Wherefore while the Magistracy, and those of hotter Spirits were debating on giving Orders to the Troops to march out of the City, and engage with the Enemy, who were much more numerous, and strongly posted, and *Malatesta* refused, they grew to such a Height of Distraction, that they discharged him from his Command, and sent some of the most pertinacious among them to give him Notice of it, with Orders to depart with his Troops out of the City. This Declaration put him in such a Rage, that with a Poniard, which he had by his Side, he wounded one of them, and would have killed him, had he not been rescued by the Attendants. The others being in a Consternation, and the City beginning to rise, those who were

A. D. ^{1530.} not so mad as the rest, repressed the Rashness of the Gonfalonier, who armed himself, and threatened sometimes to attack *Malatesta*, and sometimes to march out and fight the Enemy.

AT last the extreme Obstinacy of Many gave Place to the extreme Necessity of All, and therefore on the Ninth of *August* Four Embassadors were deputed to Don *Ferrando da Gonzaga*, who, since the Death of the Prince, had the chief Command of the Army, the Marquis *Del Guasto* having left the Camp long before, and the next Day a Convention was concluded. The principal Articles, besides obliging the City to pay, within a very few Days, Eighty Thousand Ducats for removing the Army, imported, that the Pope and the City should give Authority to *Cæsar* to declare, within Three Months, what should be the Form of Government, with a Reserve however to Liberty: That there should be a general Amnesty of all Injuries done to the Pope, his Friends and Servants; and that, till the Declaration arrived from *Cæsar*, *Malatesta Baglione* should remain with

Two

Articles of
their A
greement.

Two Thousand Foot for the Guard of the City. A. D. 1530.

THE Agreement being made, while the Money was getting ready for paying off the Army, for which there was Occasion for a much larger Sum, the Pope not being very forward to assist the City with Money in so great an Exigency, *Bartolomeo Valori*, who was the Apostolic Commissary, concerting Measures with *Malatesta* wholly intent on his Return to *Perugia*, called an Assembly of the People in Parliament in the Great Square, according to the ancient Custom of the City, the Magistrates and the rest giving way to it out of Fear, and there instituted a new Form of Government, giving Authority by Parliament to twelve Citizens, Adherents to the *Medici*, to settle the Government of the City after their Manner, who reduced it to the same Form in which it usually stood before the Year One Thousand Five Hundred Twenty-seven. Government of the Florentines changed.

AFTER this, the Army decamped, having received the Money, which the *Italian* Decampment of the Army

A. D. *lian* Officers, to convert to their own Use, and to defraud the Soldiers, to the great Scandal of the military Profession, carried off with them into *Florence*, dismissing with a very small Sum the Foot, who, remaining without Leaders, dispersed themselves into various Parts. The Army of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, being paid off to the full, upon evacuating all the Towns and Dominion of the *Florentines*, took their March into the Territory of *Siena*, to new-model the Government of that City: And *Malatesta Baglione*, the Pope granting him leave to return to *Perugia*, without waiting for any other Declaration from *Cæsar*, left the City of *Florence* at the arbitrary Disposal of the Pontiff.

City left
to the
Pope.

Now, as soon as all the Soldiers were departed out of *Florence*, began the Punishments and Persecutions of the Citizens. For those, into whose Hands the Government was transferred, partly for the better Security of the State, partly out of Hatred to the Authors of such great Evils, and from the Remembrance of private Injuries, but principally because such was the Intention

Intention of the Pontiff, tho' manifested to few, interpreted the Article by which Pardon was promised to those who had injured the Pontiff and his Friends, regarding, perhaps, the superficial Import of the Words, but perverting the Sense, as not intended to cancel the Injuries and Offences committed by them in the Affairs of the Republic. Wherefore the Cognisance of them being committed to the Magistrates, six of the principal Delinquents were beheaded, others imprisoned, and a very great Number banished. By these Proceedings the City became more weakened, and those who had been concerned in the late Troubles being depressed, and reduced to greater Necessities, the Power of the *Medici* become more free, more absolute, and in a manner regal in *Florence*; which was left very much exhausted of Money by so tedious and burdensome a War, deprived within and without of many Inhabitants, its Houses and Substance abroad destroyed, and more than ever divided within itself. And this Poverty was rendered yet greater by the Necessity of procuring, for several Years, Provisions

A. D.

1530.

Vindictive Severity of the new Governors.

Afflicted State of the City.

A. D. from foreign Regions to supply the Wants
 1530. of the Country, since there had been no
 Harvest this Year, nor Seed sown afterwards; and the Disorders of the present Year had so great an Influence on succeeding Years, that more Money went out of that City, exhausted above Measure and afflicted, for procuring Corn from far distant Places, and Cattle from without its Dominion, than had been issued on account of so burdensome a War, and full of such great Expences.

Ferdinand CÆSAR in the mean time having called
 elected a Diet at *Ausburg* in *Germany*, had pro-
 King of cured *Ferdinand*, his Brother, to be chosen
 the Ro- King of the *Romans*. And Debates being
 mans.. held on the Affairs of the *Lutherans*, who
 Affairs of gave Umbrage even to the Power of the
 the Lu- Princes, and were divided by the Multi-
 therans. tude and Ambition of the Sectaries into
 divers Heresies, and such as were in a
 manner contrary one to another, and to
Martin Luther, the Author of that
 Plague, whose Life and Authority, so
 greatly was the Venom diffused and radi-
 cated, were no longer of any Considera-
 tion,

tion, the Princes of *Germany* could think of no better Remedy than the Celebration of a General Council. For even the *Lutherans*, seeking to cover their Cause with the Authority of Religion, insisted on having it done; and it was believed that the Authority of the Decrees, to be issued by the Council, would be sufficient, if not to turn the Minds of the Chiefs of the Heretics from their Errors, at least to reduce a Part of the Multitude to a better Opinion and Sentiments. Besides, a Council was greatly desired in *Germany*, even by those who followed the Catholick Opinions, for the Reformation of the Grievances and Abuses passed over by the Court of *Rome*, which, by the Authority of Indulgences, by the Largeness of Dispensations, by demanding Annates of Benefices that were conferred. together with the Costs of expediting them in the exorbitantly multiplied Offices of that Court, seemed to mind nothing but how to exact, by these Arts, great Sums of Money from all Christendom, taking no care in the mean time of the Salvation of Souls, nor that Ecclesi-

A. D.

1530.

Abuses in
the Court
of Rome.

A. D. Ecclesiastical Affairs should be rightly
 1530. governed, so that many incompatible Benefices were conferred on the same Person, and without Regard to Merit bestowed for Favour, either on Men incapacitated by Age, or wholly destitute of Learning and Literature, and, what is worse, frequently on Persons of most profligate Manners.

Cæsar CÆSAR, desirous to satisfy these Instances of all *Germany*, and because it
sollicit the Pope to call a General Council. was also conducive to his own Affairs in that Country to suppress the Occasions of the tumultuous and refractory Disposition of the People, earnestly solicited the Pontiff, putting him in mind of the Discourse they had together at *Bologna*, to bring on the Council, promising him, for removing all Apprehensions of endangering his Authority and Dignity, to be present at it himself, in order to take a particular Care of him.

Reasons of the Pope's Aversion to a General Council. NOTHING was more displeasing to the Pope; but, to preserve the Esteem of his good Disposition, he dissembled this Inclination,

nation, or Cause of Fear. However being really apprehensive that the Council, in order to restrain the Abuses of the Court, and the indiscreet Concessions of many Pontiffs, would too much diminish the pontifical Power; or remembering, that tho', when he was promoted to the Cardinalship, it had been proved that his Birth was legitimate, yet that the contrary was true in fact, and that, tho' there was no written Law that prohibited one born in that Manner from ascending to the Pontificate, yet it was an inveterate and common Opinion that one illegitimate could not be created a Cardinal; or recalling to mind that his Assumption to the Pontificate had not been free from a Suspicion of Simony practised upon Cardinal *Colonna*; or doubting that the great Severity with which he had used his own Country, stirring up mighty Armies, and plaguing her with all the Miseries of War, would cast an indeleble Infamy upon him in the Eyes of the Council, especially since it was apparent by Effects that he was not moved by a Desire to reduce her to a good and moderate

A. D.

1530.

A. D. moderate Government, as he had published in the Beginning, but by an immoderate Ambition of forcing her to return under Servitude to his Family: For these Reasons abhorring a Council, and not thinking the Promise of *Cæsar* sufficient for his Security, having communicated Affairs to the Cardinals appointed to the Discussion of this Matter, who were also themselves afraid of the Correction of a Council, he answered by shewing many Reasons why it was not a proper Time to treat of calling a Council, since it did not appear that Peace was as yet well established among the Christian Princes, and new Motions were apprehended from the *Turk*, at which Juncture it would by no means be proper that Christendom should be found employed in the Disputes and Contentions of a Council. However, to shew that he referred himself to *Cæsar's* Discretion on the Point, he concluded that he was content that his *Cæsarean* Majesty should promise in the Diet the Notification of a General Council, provided it were to be celebrated in *Italy*, himself present at it, and a fit Time assigned

His Answer
 to the
 Emperor.

assigned for their assembling together; *A. D.*
 and that the *Lutherans*, and other Here-^{1530.}
 tics, promising to stand to the Determination of the Council, would in the mean time desist from their Corruptions, and returning to their Obedience to the Apostolic See lived as they used to do before, and like Catholic Christians.

THIS last Difficulty obstructed the Progress of the whole Affair; for the *Lutherans* were not only incapable of being induced to forsake their Doctrines and Rites before the Celebration of a Council, but it was commonly believed that they abhorred a Council, not being able to expect any other Fruit from it than a Condemnation of their Opinions, since the greater Part of them, and the more considerable Points, had been several times *Why Lu-*
 condemned as heretical by the antient *therans*
 Councils; but demanded the convoking *solicit a*
 of such an Assembly, because, knowing Council.
 that it was a formidable Point to the Pontiff, they were persuaded that it would not be granted, by which means they would support the Reputation of their Cause

A. D. Cause with the greater Authority among
 1531. the People.

WITH these Agitations and Perplexities of Affairs ended the Year 1530, and succeeded the Year 1531, that afforded so little Matter for Movements. For tho' it was discovered, by many Signs, that the King of *France* was dissatisfied at the Agreement he had made with *Cæsar*, and very desirous of new Commotions, and that also the King of *England* inclined the same Way, being provoked against *Cæsar* because, in Defence of his Mother's Sister, he opposed him in the Case of the Divorce, yet the King of *France*, being exhausted of Money, and not having yet taken his due Repose after the Troubles and Fatigues of such long Wars, it was not as yet a seasonable Time to excite Innovations. But in the mean time he employed himself in holding a Correspondence both in *Germany* with the Princes who were disaffected to *Cæsar*, and in *Italy* with the Pontiff, proposing to him, in order to gain his Good Will, a Match between his Second Son and
 His

His Holiness's Niece; and, what was a ^{A. D.} greater Offence to God, and a terrible ^{1531.} Reproach to the Crown of *France*, which had always made a particular Profession of defending the Christian Religion, on the Merit of which it had obtained the Title of *Most Christian*, he held Intelligence with the Prince of the *Turks*, in order to provoke him against *Cæsar*, towards whom he was usually ill-disposed, both by his natural Hatred to the Christian Name, and on account of the Controversy which he had with his Brother, who was contending for the Kingdom of *Hungary* with the Vaivod, whom *Solyman* had taken under his Protection, and also because the Greatness of *Cæsar* began to give Umbrage to the *Turk* himself.

AT this time the Imperial Generals decamped with the Army from the Territory of *Siena*, to march for *Piedmont*, having, to the Pope's Satisfaction, restored those of the *Monte del Nove* to the Enjoyment of their Country and Estates in *Siena*, without altering the Form of Government, and left in the Place, for their Security,

A. D. ^{1531.} Security, a Garrison of 300 *Spanish* Foot, dependent on the Duke of *Malfi*, who, for want of knowing how to preserve his Authority, soon suffered Affairs there to run into the same Disorders, so that they who had been restored removed themselves again out of Fear.

CÆSAR also now declared the Form of Government of *Florence* *, dissembling that Part of the Authority granted him, which was limited by the Salvo of Liberty ; for, according to the very Instructions which the Pope had sent him, he pronounced that the City should be governed by the same Magistrates, and after the same Manner, by which it used to be governed in Times when the *Medici* held it ; and that *Alessandro*, who was the Pontiff's Nephew, and his own Son-in-law, should be the Head of the Government, and, in Default of Issue, should be succeeded one after another by the Children, Descendants, and Nearest of the same Family. He restored to the City all the Privileges granted

Cæsar's
Declarati-
on on the
Govern-
ment of
Florence.

* On *July 27*, when all the Magistrates took an Oath to observe the new Form of Government introduced in Favour of the *Medici Gio:io*.

granted at other times by himself, or ^{A. D.} by his Predecessors, but on condition that ^{1531.} they shall be forfeited whenever the Citizens shall make any Attempt against the Grandeur of the Family of the *Medici*; inserting in the whole Decree such Words as shewed that it was founded not only in the Power granted him by the Parties, but also on the Imperial Authority and Dignity.

IN this Affair *Cæsar* having satisfied the Pontiff, perhaps, beyond the Power granted him by the Compromise, soon after offended him in a Point that touched him very nearly. For when the Controversy between the Pontiff and the Duke of *Ferrara* had been heard and examined by several Doctors of Laws, into whose Hands he had committed it, and many Witnesses and Papers had been produced on both Sides, he pronounced, pursuant to their *Cæsar* Counsel and Report, that *Modena* and *Reggio* belonged of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and that the Pontiff, on receiving ^{gives Sentence for the Duke of Ferrara.} of the Duke 100,000 Ducats, should reduce the Tribute to the antient Rate,

P and

A. D. and re-invest him with the Jurisdiction of
 1531. *Ferrara.*

His Ex-
 cuse to the
 Pope.

CÆSAR endeavoured to convince the Pontiff, that if, contrary to the Promise he had made in *Bologna*, not to pronounce at all in case he should find his Cause not to be just, he had however pronounced, he ought to complain, not of him, but of the Bishop of *Vasone*, his Nuncio, to whom he had not failed to signify his Intention not to pronounce Sentence, that he might not be constrained to give Judgment against the Pope; but that the Bishop, persuaded of the contrary, and that this was said in order to be discharged of the Promise made him to give Sentence if Right appeared on his Side, had been so importunate with him to pronounce, that he had been necessitated to do it for the Preservation of his own Honour: An Excuse, which, perhaps, would have been more satisfactory, if the Judgment had not been the same in effect as that to which *Cæsar* had often attempted to reduce the Matter by an Agreement.

A. D.

THE Pontiff was yet much more of-¹⁵³¹
 fended on observing that *Cæsar*, in pro-Pope
 nouncing on the Affair of *Modena* and highly of-
Reggio, had imitated the Example of fended
 with him.
 a rigorous Judge, but in that of *Ferrara*,
 in which Rigor was manifestly on his Side,
 he had acted the Part of a friendly Medi-
 ator. Wherefore he would not ratify the
 Judgment given, nor take the Money
 that the Duke had been sentenced to pay,
 and at the next Festival of *St. Peter* he
 would not accept the Tribute offered to
 him, according to the ancient manner,
 in public.

CÆSAR however did not fail on this *Modena*
 Account to resign *Modena*, which City he resigned
 had long held in Deposit, to the Duke of to the
Ferrara, leaving afterwards him and the Duke of
Ferrara.
 the Pope to decide their Differences between
 themselves; whence, for many Months,
 there was neither open War nor secure
 Peace between them, the Pontiff being
 wholly intent either on oppressing the
 Duke by Treachery, or waiting an
 P 2 Opportunity

A. D. Opportunity to attack him openly, with
 1532. the Assistance of greater Princes.

THIS Year, 1531, had no other Events, and the same quiet Course of Affairs continued the next Year, 1532, which was more dangerous on account of foreign Wars, than of any Movements in *Italy*. For the *Turk*, irritated by the Disgrace of being repulsed from *Vienna*, and informed that *Cæsar* was in *Germany*, prepared a very numerous Army, magnifying his warlike Provisions, and publishing that he intended to take the Field in order to constrain *Cæsar* to come to a Battle with him. At the Fame of these Preparations both *Cæsar* put himself in the best Order that he could, causing also the Marquis *del Guasto* to pass into *Germany* with the *Spanish* Troops, and with a great Body of *Italian* Horse and Foot; and the Pontiff promised to assist him with 40,000 Ducats each Month, and sent on that Expedition the Cardinal *de' Medici*, his Nephew, as Apostolic Legate; and the Princes and Free Towns of *Germany* prepared a very

Vast Preparations of the *Turks* and *Christians* fruitless.

very great Army in favour of *Cæsar*, and ^{A. D.}
in defence of their common Country. ^{1532.}

But the Effects proved very unequal to the Fame and Terror; for *Solyman* having entered *Hungary* late in the Year, not being able to arrive there sooner on account of the Vastness of the Preparations, and of the Length of the March, proceeded not with his Army directly towards *Cæsar*, but, after making only a Show of War, and a great Incurſion, returned to *Conſtantinople*. Nor did *Cæsar* ſhew greater Forwardneſs: For on Advice that the *Turks* were drawing near, he did not put himſelf on the March to meet them; but, as ſoon as he underſtood that they were retired, he had no Thoughts of proſecuting, with all his Forces, the Opportunity of recovering *Hungary* for his Brother, but, burning with a Deſire to return into *Spain*, ordered that the *Italian* Foot, with a certain Number of *Germans*, ſhould go on the Expedition to *Hungary*. But this Deſign was alſo defeated; for the *Italian* Foot, ſtirred up by ſome of their Heads, ^{Italians} who ſaw other Generals entrusted with ^{mutiny,} the Conduct of that Enterpriſe, roſe in a ^{and deſert.}

A. D. Mutiny, being able to alledge no Cause
 1532. of their Tumult; and the Authority of
Cæsar himself, who went in Person to
 speak to them, not being sufficient
 to pacify them, unanimously took their
 Way to *Italy*, marching with the
 utmost Speed for fear of being followed,
 and setting on fire many Houses and Vil-
 lages in the Rout, as if they were in an
 Enemy's Country, in revenge, as they
 said, for the Ravages committed by the
Germans in *Italy*.

Cæsar re-
 turns to
Italy.

CÆSAR also was now set out on his
 Way to *Italy*, and having marked out in
 what Order, and by what Stages his Court
 should proceed with all his Train, the
 Cardinal *de' Medici*, incited by a juvenile
 Impetuosity, not caring to be restrained
 by the Order which had been prescribed,
 spurred on before together with *Piermaria*
Rosso, to whom the Fault of the Sedi-
 tion beforementioned was principally
 ascribed. *Cæsar*, provoked at this At-
 tempt, either because he laid the Blame
 on the Cardinal, or, as it was said, was
 apprehensive that the Cardinal, who was
 dis-

discontented at the Promotion of his Cousin *Alessandro* to the Government of the State of *Florence*, would march after those seditious Foot, in order to put himself at their Head, and lead them on some Enterprize to disturb the Peace of *Tuscany*, caused him to be arrested on the Road, together with *Piermaria Rosso*; but afterwards, on better Consideration of the Importance of the Matter, he immediately sent to have him set at Liberty, and made many Excuses to him and the Pope. *Piermaria* remained a Prisoner, but not long after he was released, the Injury which *Cæsar* thought he had done the Cardinal pleading powerfully with him, as it was believed, for his Deliverance.

THE Departure of the *Turk* freed *Italy* from an impending War; for the Kings of *England* and *France*, full of Hatred and Indignation against *Cæsar*, had an Interview between *Calais* and *Bologne*, where persuading themselves that the *Turk* would stop this Winter in *Hungary*, and by that means keep employed the Forces of *Cæsar*, they concerted that

A. D. ^{1532.} the King of *France* should attack the Dutchy of *Milan*; and intending to draw the Pope into their own Schemes by Fear and rough Means, since hitherto they were not able to succeed by any other Method, they consulted on withdrawing their Kingdoms from his Obedience, in case he would not consent to what they desired, which was the State of *Milan* for the King of *France*, and for the King of *England* a Judgment on his Side in the Cause of the Divorce; and they had already appointed to send to him, with those Commissions, the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Tarbes*, who were both of great Authority with the King of *France*.

BUT the News they received, before they parted from the Interview, of the Retreat of the *Turk*, damped these Projects, and also prevented the King of *England* from causing *Anne of Bullen* to pass the Sea to *Calais*, in order to celebrate the Matrimony with her publicly in that Assembly, tho' the Cause was depending in the Court of *Rome*, and he had been prohibited by Apostolic Briefs, under

under Pain of most grievous Censures, to attempt any thing in prejudice of the first Matrimony. The King of *France*, however, to make a Show to the King of *England* of a Disaffection to the *Roman Church*, tho' his Intention was to seek to gain Credit to his Side by gentle Means, imposed, by his own Authority, Tenths upon the Clergy throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, and dispatched two Cardinals to the Pope, but with Commissions far different from those which had at first been designed.

A. D.
1532.

King of
France
imposes
Tenths on
his Clergy.

CÆSAR arriving in *Italy* desired a Conference with the Pontiff, and *Bologna* was the Place again appointed between them for their Meeting, which was heartily accepted by the Pope, that he might not give Occasion to *Cæsar*, as he was advised by many about him, to take a Progress to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and by that means tarry longer in *Italy*, which was also contrary to the Mind of *Cæsar*, who was desirous to depart for *Spain*, as well for other Reasons as principally from a Desire of procreating Children,

A second
Interview
between
the Pope
and *Cæsar*.

his

A. D. his Wife remaining in that Country.

1532.

Cæsar's
Proposals.

Wherefore in the End of the Year they both came together in *Bologna*, where passed between them the same outward Marks of Love, and the same Familiarity that had been observed on the former Occasion; but there was no longer that Correspondence of Minds, which had appeared at that Time, in the Negotiations. For *Cæsar* was extremely desirous of a Council for the Quiet and Satisfaction of *Germany*, and professed himself very willing to disband the Army, which was a Burthen to himself as well as others; but, that he might be able to do it with Security, insisted on renewing the last League made in *Bologna*, in order to comprehend all the other Potentates, and have every one assessed in the Sum he was to contribute if *Italy* should be invaded by the *French*. He was desirous also that *Caterina*, the Pope's Niece, should be married to *Francesco Sforza*, both to bring the Pope under a greater Necessity of attending to the Preservation of that State, and to break off the Treaty of Affinity which

which was under Negotiation with the *A. D.*
King of *France*. 1532.

THE Pontiff was not pleased with any of these Overtures; for to enter into a Confederacy was contrary to his Desire of keeping himself as much as possible neuter between Christian Princes, being apprehensive, among other Dangers, in particular, that the King of *France*, especially being so earnestly solicited by the King of *England*, would withdraw his Obedience from him. The Council was very disagreeable to him for the old Reasons; and he did not approve of the Affinity with the Duke of *Milan*, because he would not contract as it were an open Enmity with the King of *France*, and because he ardently desired to join his Niece in Matrimony to the King's second Son.

DEBATES were held on these Heads, principally on that of the Confederacy, the Negotiation of which had commenced several Months before, and was managed by Commissioners, who, on the Part of *Cæsar*,

A. D. Cæſar, were *Couos*, the chief Com-
 1532.
 mendatory of *Leo*, *Granvelle*, and *Prata*;
 Commiſſioners for the Pope the Cardinal *de' Medici*,
 for treating of *Jacopo Salviati*, and *Guicciardini*. Theſe
 a new Al- did not reſuſe to make a Confederacy,
 liance. for that would have been too open a Diſ-
 covery of the Intentions of the Pontiff,
 and have given *Cæſar* juſt Cauſe to enter-
 tain very ſtrong Suſpicions of him; but
 inſiſted on uſing all Endeavours for pro-
 curing the *Venetians* to condeſcend to it,
 repreſenting that without their Aſſiſtance
 the Defence would be but weak, and
 that the common Cauſe would be main-
 tained with the greateſt Reputation by
 keeping up the Fame of the firſt Confe-
 deracy, whereas making another, without
 their Concurrence, would beget every where
 an Opinion that there was a Diſagreement
 between *Cæſar* and the Pope, and the
Venetians.

Venetians
 ſollicit-
 ed to enter
 into it.

The *Venetians* were therefore ſollicit-
 ed to conſent to a new Confederacy for the
 Defence of all *Italy*, for by the firſt they
 were bound to no other than that of the
 State of *Milan* and the Kingdom of
Naples,

Naples, and *Cæsar* was highly desirous that they should be also obliged to the Defence of *Genoa*, where it was apprehended that, if a War should break out, the *French* would be apt to make the first Attack, because they pretended, on account of Rights and particular Interests, they might lawfully do it without infringing the Treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. A. D. 1532.

The Senate refused their Consent to enter into a new Confederacy, or to enlarge the Obligations of the present, to the great Indignation of *Cæsar*, tho' they declared that they would inviolably observe this Alliance. *Cæsar* however insisted the more earnestly with the Pope, refuting the Reasons which were alledged on his Part to the contrary, so that he entered into a Debate on the Articles of the Confederacy, and all the Potentates of *Italy* were invited to send Ambassadors to assist at the Negotiation, and solicited to enter into the Confederacy, by contributing their Quota, in case of a War, according to their respective Forces and Abilities.

None

A. D. 1532. ^{1532.}
 Duke of Ferrara None of the Powers made any Difficulty of complying, only every one endeavoured to lighten what was demanded of him for Contribution. *Alfonso da Este* alone declared that he could not enter into a League for defending the States of others, if he were not first secured of his own; for with what Consistency could he keep himself on his Guard against the Pontiff, and enter into a League with him? And how was it possible for him to contribute with his Money to the Defence of *Milan* and *Genoa*, if he was necessitated to be at continual Expences for maintaining Garrisons in *Modena* and *Reggio*, and also for the Security of *Ferrara*?

THIS Demand occasioned a new Negotiation for an Agreement between *Alfonso* and the Pope, who being very averse to it, and yet unwilling to shew himself thus openly inexorable to the Instances of *Cæsar*, proposed inexplicable Conditions, declaring that if he must be obliged to leave *Modena* and *Reggio* to *Alfonso*, since otherwise there could be no Agreement, it was his Will he should acknowledge that

thst he held them as Fiefs of the Aposto-
 lic See. This being impracticable, so as
 to be valid in Law, without the Consent
 of the Electors and Princes of the Em-
 pire, plunged *Cæsar* in a Difficulty which
 had no Issue. Wherefore he was content
 to intreat the Pontiff to enter into an Ob-
 ligation not to attack the State possessed
 by *Alfonso*, at least during the League.
 At length, after many Disputes, the
 Pontiff consented to secure it for eighteen
 Months, and so at last followed the Con-
 clusion of the League, which was stipu-
 lated on the Festival of *St. Matthias*, a
 Day so fortunate to *Cæsar*.

A. D.
1532.

League
conclud-
ed.

THE Confederacy contained an Obli-
 gation of *Cæsar*, of the King of the *Ro-*
mans, and of all the other *Italian* Poten-
 tates, except the *Venetians*, to the De-
 fence of *Italy*, the *Florentines* however
 not being named in it, but in the manner
 in which they had been named in the
 League of *Coignac*, that it might not give
 occasion to a Disturbance of their Com-
 merce in the Kingdom of *France*. It ex-
 pressed the Number of Troops that every
 one

Articles.

A. D. 1532. one of the confederated Princes was to furnish, with the Quotas they were to contribute every Month, *Cæsar* being rated at 30,000 Ducats, the Pontiff, who was appointed to pay for himself and the *Florentines* at 20,000, the Duke of *Milan* at 10,000, the Duke of *Ferrara* 12000, the *Genoese* 6000, the *Senese* 2000, and the *Lucchese* 1000. And that proper Provision might be made against any sudden Attack, till such time as a Defence might be made by means of the several Contributions, there was to be deposited at present a Sum of Money nearly equal to the Contributions, which was not to be expended until Preparations were manifestly in readiness for invading *Italy*. A small annual Contribution was also appointed for maintaining the Generals who remained in *Italy*, and to pay certain Pensions to the *Swiss*, that they might have no Cause to furnish the King of *France* with Foot. And *Antonio da Leva* was, by common Consent, declared Captain General of the whole League, with Orders to reside in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

As

As to the Council, nothing was concluded to the Satisfaction of *Cæsar*, who insisted that the Pope should give immediate Intimation of it; but he refused, alledging that in the present evil Disposition of Minds, it was to be feared, a Council would be rejected by the Kings of *France* and *England*. And if it should be held without them, there could be nothing effected towards a Union or Reformation of the Church, but it was very much to be apprehended that it would give Occasion to a Schism; he was content however to send Nuncios to all the Princes, to incite them to so holy a Work. *Cæsar* then replying What if these Princes should dissent without just Cause, and desiring that in such a Case the Pontiff should promise him to intimate it, he could by no means dispose him to it; so that the Nuncios were deputed and sent, but with small Hopes of bringing the Point to a Conclusion.

BUT *Cæsar* remained also no less dissatisfied with the Treaty of Affinity; for

A. D. 1532. the two Cardinals deputed from the King of *France* being arrived at *Bologna*, and a Negotiation again set on foot of an Affinity with the second Son of that King, the Pontiff replied to that of the Duke of *Milan* proposed by *Cæsar*, that since the King had long before made an Overture to him and *Cæsar* of the Matrimony of his Son, and that he had hearkned to the Proposal with *Cæsar*'s Consent, who at that Time shewed himself not at all uneasy about it, he thought it too great an Injury to the King of *France* if, while the Treaty was depending, he should marry his Niece to one who was the King's Enemy : That he believed this Negotiation to be artfully set on foot by the King, with a Design to amuse him, and not with an Intention to conclude any thing, there being so great a Disparity of Rank and Condition ; but that, if the Treaty was not first wholly broken off, he would not offer so great an Affront to the King. And *Cæsar*, not being able to persuade himself that the King of *France* would chuse so unequal a Match for one of his Sons, advised

Affair of
Marriage
of Ca-
terina de'
Medici.

vifed the Pope, in order to be convinced of the King's Diffimulation, to infift with the two Cardinals on their procuring a Commiffion enabling them to make the Contract. This they fhewed themfelves very ready to do, and in a very few Days had one transmitted to them, drawn in a very ample Form and Manner.

HENCE not only all Hopes of Affinity with *Francesco Sforza* were excluded, but alfo the Treaty with the King of *France* was pushed on with more Vigour; befides the Pope and the King of *France* had long before debated and agreed on an Interview at *Nizza*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, and feated on the River *Varo*, which feparates *Italy* and *Provence*.

THESE Things gave no little Anxiety to *Cæfar*, who not only apprehended that a clofe Alliance would be made between the Pope and the King of *France* to his Prejudice, knowing how the King's Mind was difpofed towards him, and doubting that the Pontiff ftill referved in

A. D.
1532.

Interview
concerted
between
the Pope
and King
of *France*.

Pope why
fufpected
by *Cæfar*.

A. D. ^{1532.} Secret the Memory of his Imprisonment, of the Sackage of *Rome*, and of the Revolution of the State of *Florence*, but was also moved with Indignation at the Thoughts that the Honour which he imagined the Pope had done him by coming to a personal Conference with him at *Bologna*, would be diminished, nay annihilated, if he should go by Sea to meet the King of *France* as far as *Nizza*. And he did not dissemble his Displeasure, nor the Causes, but in vain: For the Pope had fixed in his Mind so ardent a Desire of this Affinity, that he was more influenced by Ambition, and the Thirst of Glory in that, being of a Family of little more than private Rank, he had obtained for his natural Nephew a natural Daughter of so potent an Emperor, and now should obtain for his legitimate Niece a legitimate Son of the King of *France*, than by the Representations which were made to him by many Hands that by this Affinity he would give some Colour of Right, tho' not true yet apparent, to the King of *France*, to form Pretensions for his Son and Daughter in Law on the State

Ambitious.

State of *Florence*. To these Causes of *A. D.*
Cæsar's Dissatisfaction were added, by a ^{1532.}
 kind of Accumulation, that when he re-
 quested the Pope to create three Car-
 dinals, whom he had proposed, he only
 obtained that Dignity, and not without
 Difficulty, for the Archbishop of *Bari*,
 the Pontiff excusing himself from the
 Opposition of the College of Cardinals.
 Nor was *Cæsar* mitigated by the Pope's
 ready Concurrence with a secret Con-
 federacy, in which he promised to pro-
 ceed judicially to Censure, and to all
 rightful Measures against the King of ^{Secretly}
England and *Anne Bullen*; they <sup>confede-
rates with</sup> *Cæsar*.
 obliged themselves to make no new Con-
 federacy or Agreement with any Princes
 without mutual Consent.

CÆSAR then set out from *Bologna* the
 Day after the Confederacy had been sti-
 pulated, being well assured in himself that
 the Affinity and the Interview with the ^{*Cæsar de-*}
 King of *France* would go forwards, and ^{parts for}
 doubtful also of a closer Union, and em-
 barking at *Genoa* passed into *Spain*, with a
 pretty firm Resolution, as it was said,

A. D. 1532. that if the Affinity should be contracted with the King, that of his Daughter with *Alessandro de' Medici* should not take Place.

Pope excuses his Confederacy.

THE Pope a few Days after set out for *Rome*, accompanied by the two *French* Cardinals, who were not in the least disturbed at the new Confederacy; for the Pontiff, who was excellent at Diffimulation and Negotiations, when he was not over-ridden by Fear, had pretended to them that the Conclusion of the League had procured the disbanding of the *Spanish* Army, which did a greater Service to the King of *France* than contracting the Confederacy did him a Prejudice, especially since between the Obligations and Observance and Execution might possibly arise many Difficulties, and divers Impediments.

THE Negotiations then begun between the Pontiff and the King of *France* were continued; and the King, to do himself Honour, and, more out of Ambition than for any other Reason, desirous of the
Pope's

Pope's coming to *Nizza*, promised, in *A. D.*
 order to draw him thither, not to solicit *1532.*
 him about a Confederacy, nor seek to
 draw him into a War, or cause him to
 deviate from the Paths of Justice in the
 Cause of the King of *England*, nor re-
 quest of him a new Creation of Cardi-
 nals. He was also not a little stimulated to
 this Step by the King of *England*, who, ha-
 ving privately got his Mistress with Child,
 had, in order to conceal the Reproach
 before it was published, solemnly con-
 tracted Matrimony with her, and having *Henry*
 not long after had a Daughter by her, *VIII.*
 had, in prejudice of the Daughter by *marries*
 the first Wife, declared her Princess of *and has a*
 the Kingdom of *England*; a Title given *Daughter*
 to those who are next in Succession to the *by Anne*
 Crown. *Bullen.*

WHEREFORE the Pope, not being able
 to dissemble so great a Contempt of the
 Apostolic See, nor deny Justice to *Cæsar*,
 had, with the Votes of the Consistory,
 declared that King fallen under the Pe-
 nalties of Presumption. Hence the
 King was desirous of the Affinity and

A. D. Interview of the Pope with the King of
 1532. *France*, in hopes that the King would be
 Desirous of Recon- a Means to colour over his Cause, and
 ciliation with the that the Pontiff, induced, as he expected,
 Pope. to treat of Innovations against *Cæsar*,
 would be desirous to reconcile him, and
 take him into Conjunction with them,
 and so constitute between them a kind of
 Triumvirate, which should give Laws to
 the Affairs of *Italy*.

THE Pope's Voyage was at last con-
 cluded, tho' not to *Nizza*, because the
 Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not dis-
 please *Cæsar*, made a Difficulty of ac-
 commodating him with the Castle, but
 to *Marseilles*; a Circumstance greatly de-
 sired by the King, because it was much
 more for his Honour to draw him to an
 Interview with him in his own Kingdom,
 and not ungrateful to the Pontiff, who
 was willing to satisfy the King rather with
 Shows, and by pleasing his Ambition,
 than by real Effects. The Pontiff la-
 boured to persuade every one that he
 went to this Interview principally to esta-
 blish the Peace, to treat of an Expedition
 against

against the Infidels, to reduce the King of *England* to the right Way, and in short purely for the common Interests. But unable to dissemble the true Motive, he sent to *Nizza*, before he took his Passage, his Niece on board the Gallies which the King of *France* had dispatched with the Duke of *Albany*, Uncle to the young Maiden, to fetch her off. This Fleet, after leaving the Girl at *Nizza*, returned to the Port of *Pisa*, and on the fourth of *October* took on board the Pontiff, with a good Number of Cardinals, and after a pretty prosperous Voyage landed him in a few Days at *Marseilles*, where, after he had made his solemn Entry, the King of *France* also publicly entered, having before paid him a Visit by Night.

*Interview
of the
Pope and
King of
France at
Marseilles*

THEY were lodged in the same Palace, and made extraordinary Shows of mutual Love and Affection; and the King, being wholly intent on gaining his Heart, requested him to cause his Niece to come to *Marseilles*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Pontiff, who did not solicit it himself, because he would shew himself

A. D. himself willing to treat first about common Affairs. As soon as the Maiden arrived the Wedding was celebrated, and the Matrimony almost immediately consummated, with incredible Gladness of the Pontiff, who negotiating his own Affairs with the King himself, and with consummate Art, entirely gained his Confidence and Affection, tho', contrary to what many believed, and what *Cæsar* imagined, no Convention was settled between them.

Caterina de' Medici married to the second Son of France.

TRUE it is that the Pope always shewed a Propenseness to wish that the State of *Milan* might be acquired for the Duke of *Orleans*, the Husband of his Niece, which would be highly acceptable to the King on account of his Hatred and Indignation against *Cæsar*, but much more because, by putting *Orleans* in Possession of that State, he imagined that he should extinguish the Causes of Contention between his Sons after his Death, which otherwise, it was to be feared, would arise on account of the Dutchy of *Bretany*, which the King had the Year before annexed to
the

the Crown of *France*, contrary to the A. D. Convention made by King *Lewis* with ^{1532.} *Bretany* those People, who were induced to con-_{annexed} sent rather by the Royal Authority than ^{to *France*.} by spontaneous Will.

THE King also did not only obtain nothing of the Pope in favour of the Cause of the King of *England*, but, on account of the uncivil Behaviour of ^{Incivility} the Agents of that King, and because he ^{of the *En-*} found them in the Pope's Chamber pro-^{*glisb* A-} testing to him, and appealing from him ^{gents to} to a Council, shewing his Indignation, he said to the Pope that he should not be offended if he proceeded according to Justice against that Prince.

NOTHING gave the Pope any Distaste except that the King, more for the Satisfaction of those about him than of himself, requested him to create three Cardinals; a thing very disagreeable to the Pontiff, not only on account of the Opposition and Complaint of the *Cæsarean* Ambassador, but because it appeared a Matter of great Moment, both with re-
spect

A. *D*ispect to the Election of future Pontiffs,
 1532. and to the Disobediences that might possibly arise in his Lifetime and afterwards by adding so many Cardinals to the *French* Nation, which had already six. However, as the lesser Evil, he consented to this Demand, and besides these three he created also a Brother of the Duke of *Albany*, to whom he had before promised that Dignity.

IN all other Matters there reigned between them the greatest Confidence and Satisfaction, and the King of *France* having communicated to the Pontiff many of his Counsels, and particularly the Design which he had formed to excite against *Cæsar* some of the Princes of *Germany*, especially the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who rose in Arms the Summer following, after they had tarried at *Marseilles* about a Month, the Pontiff departed on board the same Gallies, with which, after a great Fatigue at Sea, he arrived at *Savona*, from whence, putting no Trust in the Provision of the Ships, nor in the Skill
 of

Pope departs from
Marseilles

of those who steered them, he sent them ^{A. D.} back, and was conveyed on board the ^{1532.} Gallies of *Andrea Doria* to *Civita Vecchia*.

FROM hence he returned to *Rome* with the greatest Reputation, and with wonderful Felicity, especially in the Esteem of those who had seen him a Prisoner in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*. But he enjoyed the Favour of Fortune but a very few Months, having already presaged in his Mind what would be the future Event; for we are assured that almost as soon as he returned from *Mar-seilles*, like one certain of imminent Death, he caused the Ring, and all the Things ^{Pope pre-} usual to Sovereign Pontiffs at their Fu-^{sages his} Death. nerals, to be made, and declared to his Acquaintance, with a very sedate Mind, that his Death must needs happen in a short Space of Time.

THIS Apprehension however not making him lay aside his Projects and Studies, he pressed forward the building of a very strong Citadel in *Florence*, for the greater Security,

A. D. Security, as he imagined, of his Family;
 1532. uncertain how quick a Period awaited the
 Felicity of his Nephews, who were very
 great Enemies to each other, and of whom
Ippolito the Cardinal died, not without
 Suspicion of Poison, within a Year after
 the Pope's Death, and *Alexander*, the
 other Nephew, who ruled in *Florence*,
 was, with very great Blame for his Im-
 prudence, secretly murdered by Night in
Florence by *Lorenzo* of the same Family
 of the *Medici*.

Unfortu-
 nate End
 of the
 Pope's
 Nephews.

THE Pope in the Beginning of Sum-
 mer was affected with Pains of the Sto-
 mach, to which a Fever supervening, he
 laboured a long Time under that and
 other Symptoms, sometimes seeming re-
 duced to the Point of Death, and some-
 times cheered up and revived so as to give
 Hopes to others, but not to himself, of
 his Recovery. During his Sicknefs the
 Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the Assistance
 of the Landgrave of *Hesse* and other
 Princes, and supplied with Money by the
 King of *France*, recovered the Dutchy of
Wirtemberg which was in Possession of
 the

Duke of
*Wirtem-
 berg* re-
 covers his
 Dutchy.

the King of the *Romans*, with whom, ^{A D.}
 out of Fear of greater Combustions, the ^{1531.}
 Princes came to a Composition, contrary
 to the Will of the King of *France*; who
 expected that *Cæsar*, by this Movement,
 would be involved in a long and difficult
 War, or, perhaps, that the victorious
 Arms of the Confederates would make a
 Descent and Invasion into the Dutchy of
Milan.

AT this Juncture also *Barbarossa*, be-
 come a Bassa, and Captain General of
Solyman's Fleet, took his Course to the
 Kingdom of *Tunis*; but in his Voyage
 he scoured the Seacoasts of *Calabria*, and
 passed off *Gaeta*, where some of his
 Troops landed, and plundered *Fondi*, ^{Barba-}
 which struck such a Terror into the Pope's ^{rossa sacks}
 Court and the *Romans*, that if the *Turks*
 had marched forwards, they would, it is
 believed, have abandoned the City.

THIS Disaster was unknown to the
 Pontiff, who at last, no longer able to
 struggle with his Distemper, on the 25th
 of *September* departed this present Life, ^{Death of}
 leaving ^{Pope Cle-}
 ment VII.

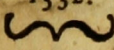
A. D. leaving in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo* ^{1532.} abundance of Jewels, and in the Apolical Chamber a Multiplicity of Offices, but, contrary to the universal Opinion, a very small Quantity of Money.

His Fortune and Character.

THIS Pope was exalted from a low Degree with wonderful Felicity to the Pontificate, but in it he experienced a great Variety of Fortune, tho', upon the Balance, his bad Fortune greatly outweighed the good. For what Felicity can compare with the Infelicity of his Imprisonment, his having seen the Sackage of *Rome* with such horrible Ravages, and his being the Cause of so great a Ruin to his own Country? He died hated by the Court, suspected by the Princes, and with the Character of being rather of a morose and disagreeable than of a pleasant and affable Temper, being reputed avaricious, hardly to be trusted, and naturally averse from doing a Kindness. Wherefore, tho' in his Pontificate he created one and thirty Cardinals, he created not one for his own Satisfaction, but, on the contrary, was always in a manner necessitated

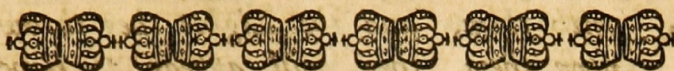
necessitated to it, except the Cardinal *de' A. D.*
Medici, whom he created rather at the ^{1532.}
 Sollicitations of others, than of his own
 spontaneous Choice, at a Time when he
 laboured under a dangerous Disorder,
 and if he had died would have left those
 who belonged to him Beggars, and desti-
 tute of all Relief. He was however very
 grave and circumspect in his Actions,
 much Master of himself, and of a very
 great Capacity, if Timidity had not fre-
 quently corrupted his Judgment.

As soon as he was dead the Cardinals,
 shutting themselves up the same Night in
 the Conclave, unanimously chose for So-
 vereign Pontiff *Alessandro* of the Family ^{Creation}
 of *Farnese*, a *Roman* by Birth, and the ^{of Paul}
 oldest Cardinal of the Court, conforming ^{III.}
 their Votes to the Judgment and almost
 Instances which *Clement* had made in his
 Behalf, as a Person worthy to be pro-
 moted to so great a Dignity before all
 others, a Man adorned with Learning,
 and of an unspotted Character. And the
 Cardinals concurred the more willingly in
 electing him, because he was now in the

A. D. sixty seventh Year of his Age, and being
 1532.  reputed of a bad Constitution, and not
 very strong, which Opinion was promoted
 by himself with some Art, they were in
 Hopes that his Pontificate would be but
 short. But whether or no the Works
 and Actions of this Pope will be worthy
 of the Expectation conceived of him,
 and of the immense Joy it gave the *Roman*
 People to find themselves after a
 Course of 103 Years, and a Succession
 of 13 Popes, once more felicitated with
 a Pontiff of the *Roman* Blood, those will
 give the best Evidence who shall record
 the Course of Affairs in *Italy* since his
 Assumption; it being a very true and
 highly laudable Saying, that the Office
 displays the Merit of the Person who ex-
 ercises it.

End of the Twentieth and last Book.

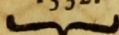




Passages of Guicciardini, either altered, or wholly omitted in the prior Editions of this History, from which we have given our Translation, but now pretended to be restored from an original Manuscript at Florence, and published in Latin, Italian, and French, together with the Castuations in some Editions of Thuanus's History, at Amsterdam by Boom in 12mo, 1663, bearing the Title, in the Italian, Discorsi de M. Francesco Guicciardini, levati dell' Istoria nella Stampa Italiana, et ricoverati dell' Originale di detto Guicciardini intero, and having, as it is said, all the Marks of Genuineness, of which we leave our Readers to judge, being perfectly conformable to the Style of this Historian, which is almost peculiar to himself, and exactly adapted to supply the Deficiencies, and fill up the Vacancies of the Places, from which, upon duly considering the foregoing and following Context, and ob-

A. D.

1532.



serving their just and natural Connexion with them, and the Lights they throw upon them, they will appear to have been exterminated.

NO. I. in Vol. II. *partly altered, partly expunged,*

Page 177, Line 2, read

Affections of the Lady Lucretia, their common Sister, with, &c.

*Ib. Line 9, after Tiber *, read*

Incestuous
Passion of
Alexander
VI.

It was also reported, if we ought to believe so great an Enormity, that not only the two Brothers but the Father himself was concerned in the Love of Lady *Lucretia*; and that, having taken her away, as soon as he was made Pontiff, from her first Husband, as become inferior to her Degree, and married her to *Giovanni Sforza*, Lord of *Pesaro*, not enduring to have a Rival also in a Husband, he dissolved the Matrimony, already consummated, having, before Judges

Judges delegated by himself, proved by *A. D.*
 false Witnesses, and afterwards got it ^{1532.}
 confirmed by Sentence, that *Giovanni*
 was of a cold Complexion, and impotent
 in matrimonial Embraces. His Death, &c.

*This Passage is entire in Chomedey's
 French Translation, printed at Paris in
 1568, and dedicated to Katherine de
 Medicis, Queen Mother; also in the
 French Translation, with de la Noue's
 Remarks, printed at Geneva in two
 Vols. 8vo, 1593, and in Fenton's En-
 glish Translation, London, Fol. 1618.*

No. II. Vol. II. entirely expunged.

*Page 367, Line 16, after the
 Break at Pope his Father,
 begins another thus :*

To give a clear Notion of this Affair, and
 of many others that were consequent upon
 it, the Subject requires us to offer some
 Account of the Claims which the Church
 hath on the Towns of *Romagna*, and on
 many others, of which she has been at

A. D. fundry Times, or is now in actual Possession, and in what Manner an Administration, which at its first Institution was merely Spiritual, came to be concerned about worldly States and Empires; and also, as an Affair connected with the former, of the Contentions which, for these and other Reasons, have at divers Times happened between the Popes and Emperors.

Primitive State of the Roman Pontiffs. THE *Roman* Pontiffs, the first of whom was the Apostle *Peter*, their Authority being founded by Jesus Christ in spiritual Affairs, abounding in Charity, Humility, Patience, in the Spirit, and in Miracles, were, in their Beginning, not only destitute of temporal Power, but, being persecuted by it, remained for many Years in a State of Obscurity, and were in a manner unknown, nothing more contributing to make their Names known than the Punishments which they, together with their Followers, equally sustained. Wherefore, tho', on account of the innumerable Multitude, and of the different Nations and Professions that were in *Rome*, their Progress

Progress sometimes met with little Attention, and some of the Emperors did not persecute them unless so far as it appeared that their public Actions could not be passed over in Silence, yet some others, either out of Cruelty, or Devotion to their own Gods, persecuted them in an atrocious Manner, as Inducers of new Superstitions, and Destroyers of the true Religion.

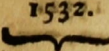
In this State they continued, being very famous for voluntary Poverty, for Sanctity of Life, and for Martyrdom, till Pope *Sylvester*, in whose Time *Constantine* the Emperor having received the Christian Faith, induced by the extraordinary Holiness of Manners, and by the Miracles which were continually observed of those who professed the Name of Christ, the Pontiffs lived secure from the Dangers to which they had been exposed for about 300 Years, and were allowed the public Exercise of divine Worship after the Christian Rites. Hence, out of Reverence to their Manners, and from the holy Precepts containing in themselves our Religion, and from the ready Disposition of

A. D.
1532.
Clergy
how en-
riched.

A. D. Men, either out of Ambition for the most
^{1532.} part, or out of Fear, to follow the Ex-
ample of their Prince, the Christian
Name began to spread itself wonderfully
every where, and together with it the Po-
verty of the Clergy to diminish. For
Constantine having built in *Rome* the
Churches of *St. John Lateran*, *St. Peter*
in the Vatican, *St. Paul's*, and many
others in different Places, not only en-
dowed them with rich Vessels and Orna-
ments, but also with Possessions and other
Revenues to preserve and restore them,
and for the Buildings, and for the Support
of those who performed divine Service in
them. And many afterwards successively
in future Times, persuading themselves
that by Alms and Legacies to the Churches
they should facilitate to themselves the Ac-
quisition of the Kingdom of Heaven,
either built or endowed other Churches,
or dispensed Part of their Riches to those
already built; and moreover, either by
Law, or from antient Custom, following
the Example of the Old Testament, every
one paid the tenth Part of the Fruits of his
own Estate to the Churches, the People
putting

putting themselves forward on those Works ^{A. D.} with great Ardor, because at the Beginning ^{1532.} the Clergy, except what was necessary for their own very moderate Sustainance, bestowed all the rest, partly in the Buildings and Ornaments of the Churches, and partly in Works of Mercy and Charity. And Pride and Ambition not having as yet found an Entrance into their Breast, the Bishop of *Rome* was universally acknowledged by Christians as Head of all the Churches, and of the whole spiritual Administration, as Successor of the Apostle *Peter*, and because that City, on account of its antient Dignity and Greatness, retained, as Head of the others, the Name and Majesty of the Empire, because also from it was diffused the Christian Faith into the greatest Part of *Europe*, and *Constantine*, being baptized by *Sylvester*, had voluntarily acknowledged such an Authority in him and his Successors.

It is reported that, besides all this, *Constantine*, constrained by the Circumstances of the Western Provinces to translate

A. D. ^{1532.}  late the Seat of the Empire to the City of *Byzantium*, called after his Name *Constantinople*, bestowed on the Pontiffs the Dominion of *Rome*, and of many other Cities and Countries of *Italy*. This Report, tho' diligently promoted by the succeeding Pontiffs, and by many believed on their Authority, is yet rejected by the most approved Authors, and much more from the Evidence of the Thing itself; since it is very manifest that at that Time, and long afterwards, *Rome* and all *Italy* was subject to the Empire, and governed by Magistrates deputed by the Emperors. And there are not wanting some, such is frequently the Obscurity in Matters of so great Antiquity, who explode all that is said about *Constantine* and *Sylvester*, affirming that they lived in different Times; but not one denies that the Translation of the Seat of the Empire to *Constantinople* was the first Origin of the Power of the Pontiffs, the Authority of the Emperors in *Italy* being weakened in Process of Time by their continual Absence, and by the Difficulties they met with in the East, the *Roman* People estranging themselves

Donation
of *Con-*
stantine
exploded.

selves from the Emperors, and therefore A. D. 1532. paying so much the more Deference to the Popes, began to yield them, not Subjection, but a kind of spontaneous Obedience.

AFFAIRS however took such a Turn but slowly, on account of the Inundations of *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations that over-ran *Italy*; by these *Rome* being several times taken and sacked, the Name of the Pontiffs as to temporal Matters was obscure and low, and the Emperors had but very little Authority in *Italy*, after they had in so shameful a manner left her a Prey to Barbarians. Among these Nations the *Goths*, a People professing the Christian Name, and deriving their first Original from the Parts of *Dacia* and *Tartary*, continued in Power seventy Years, the Fury of the others having spent itself like a Torrent. The *Goths* were at last driven out of *Italy* by the Arms of the Emperors, and *Italy* began once more to be governed by *Greek* Magistrates, the Chief of whom was called by a *Greek* Name, *Exarch*, and resided at *Ravenna*,
Origin of the Ex-archate of *Ravenna*.
a

A. D. very antient City, and at that Time very
 1532. rich, and very populous, on account of the
 Fertility of the Country, and because, since
 the great Increase it received from the powerful Fleet continually stationed by *Cæsar Augustus*, and other Emperors, in the Port, which was almost contiguous to it, and now has no Appearance, it had been the Habitation of many Generals, and afterwards for a long time of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths* and his Successors, who, taking Umbrage at the Power of the Emperors, had chosen it rather than *Rome* for the Commodiousness of its Sea, which is nearer to *Constantinople*. This Conveniency, tho', for a contrary Reason, the Exarchs affecting made it their Residence, putting in the Government of *Rome* and of other Cities of *Italy* particular Magistrates under the Title of *Dukes*. Hence the Name of the *Exarchate of Ravenna* had its Original, under which Name is comprehended all the Country which having no particular Dukes paid Obedience immediately to the Exarch.

AT this Juncture the *Roman* Pontiffs,
 wholly

wholly divested of temporal Power, and the Reverence paid them in Spirituals ^{A. D. 1532.} much cooled by the Insincerity of their Manners, which now began to deviate from their native Simplicity, stood under a kind of Subjection to the Emperors, without whose Confirmation, or that of ^{State of Roman Pontiffs} their Exarchs, tho' elected by the Clergy ^{under Ex-} and People of *Rome*, they durst not exercise or accept the Pontificate; nay the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Ravenna*, as the Seat of Religion commonly follows the Power of Empire and Arms, oftentimes disputed the Superiority with the *Roman* Bishop.

BUT not long after the State of Affairs was altered; for the *Lombards*, a very fierce Nation, invading *Italy*, seized on *Gallia Cisalpina*, which from being ^{Invasion of the} brought under their Empire took the ^{*Lombards*;} Name of *Lombardy*, *Ravenna*, and the Exarchate, with many other Parts of *Italy*, and carried their Arms as far as the *Marca Anconitana*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, in which two Places they created particular Dukes, the Emperors making no Provisions

A. D. visions against their Progress, partly
 1532. through Indolence, and partly on account of the Difficulties they laboured under in *Asia*.

ROME, abandoned of their Assistance, and the Magistracy of the Exarchs no longer existing, began to be divided by the Counsels and Authority of the Pontiffs, who, after they had suffered together with the *Romans* a long Oppression under the *Lombards*, had recourse at last to the Assistance of *Pepin*, King of *France*. *Pepin* posted with a powerful Army into *Italy*, where the *Lombards* had now domineered above 200 Years, and having driven them out of one Part of their Empire, bestowed, as become his own by Right of War, on the Pontiff and the *Roman Church*, not only *Urbino*, *Fano*, *Agobbio*,
Pepin's Donation. and many other Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, but also *Ravenna*, with its Exarchate, under which is said to be comprehended all that Space of Land which reaches from the Confines of the *Piacentine* contiguous to the Territory of *Pavia*, as far as *Rimini*, and is bounded by the
 River

River *Po*, the *Appennine* Mountains, the *A. D.*
 Pools or Marshes of the *Venetians*, and the ^{1532.}
Adriatic Sea; and also the Country
 from beyond *Rimini*, as far as the River
Toglia, at that time called *Isauro*.

BUT after the Death of *Pepin*, the *Lom-*
bards again molesting the Pontiffs, and the
 Territories which had been bestowed up-
 on them, *Charles*, his Son, who after-
 wards for his signal Victories was deser-
 vedly surnamed *the Great*, having totally
 destroyed the Empire of the *Lombards*,
 confirmed the Donation made to the
Roman Church by his Father, and gave
 his Approbation, while he was at War
 with the *Lombards*, to a further En-
 dowment of the Church with the Mar-
 ca of *Ancona*, and the Dutchy of *Spo-*
leto, which then comprehended the City
 of *Aquila*, and Part of the *Abruzzi*.
 Thus much is affirmed for certain, and
 some Ecclesiastic Writers add that *Charles*
 made a Donation to the Church of *Ligu-*
ria, as far as the River *Varo*, the
 utmost Border of *Italy*, *Mantoua*, and of
 all that the *Lombards* possessed in *Friuli*
 and

A. D. and *Istria*; and some others write the
 1532. same of the Island of *Corfica*, and of all
 the Territory between the Cities of
Luni and *Parma*.

FOR such meritorious Benefits the
 Kings of *France* were celebrated and ex-
 alted by the Pontiffs, and obtained the
 Title of *most Christian Kings*; and after-
 wards, in the Year 800 of our Redemp-
 tion, the Pontiff *Leo*, together with the
Roman People, by no other Authority
 than that of the Pontiff, as Head of that
 People, elected the same *Charles Roman*
 Emperor, separating also in Name this
 Part of the Empire from the Emperors
 who resided at *Constantinople*, as if *Rome*
 and the Western Provinces, having no
 Defence from them, had need to be de-
 fended by a Prince of their own.

By this Division the *Constantinopolitan*
 Emperors were not deprived of the Island
 of *Sicily*, nor of that Part of *Italy* which
 extends from *Naples* to *Manfredonia*, and
 is bounded by the Sea, because they had
 been continually under those Emperors.

Nor

Nor did this Transaction occasion any De-
 rogation from the Custom of confirming
 the Election of the Pontiffs by the Ro-
 man Emperors, by whose Authority the
 City of *Rome* was governed; on the con-
 trary, the Pontiffs in their Bulls, Privi-
 leges, and Grants, expressed the Date of
 the Writing in this Form of Words, *in*
the Reign of such an Emperor, our Lord.

A. D.
 1532.
 Election
 of Popes
 confirmed
 by the
 Emperors.

IN this moderate either Subjection
 or Dependence they continued as long
 as the Course of Events gave them no
 Spirit or Opportunity to take upon them
 to be their own Masters: But the Power
 of the Emperors being on the Decline,
 first by the Contentions which arose be-
 tween the Descendents themselves of
Charles the Great, while the Imperial
 Dignity resided among them, and after-
 wards by its Translation to the *German*
 Princes, who were not so powerful as the
 Successors of *Charles* had been through
 the Greatness of the Kingdom of *France*,
 the Pontiffs, and the *Roman* People, by
 whose Magistrates *Rome* began, tho' in a
 tumultuous Manner, to be governed,

A. D. 1532. *derogating in all things, as much as they could, from the Jurisdiction of the Emperors, enacted a Law that the Election of Pontiffs should no longer be necessary to be confirmed by them.*

*Law a-
gainst such
Confirma-
tion.*

THIS Ordinance was differently observed, according to the Variations in the Course of Affairs, by which the Imperial Power has been more or less exalted or depressed. This Power being augmented after the Empire came into the Hands of the Othos of Saxony, Gregory V. a German by Nation, chosen Pontiff by Favour of Otho III. who was present, being induced by the Love of his Countrymen, and provoked by the Persecutions he had received from the Romans, transferred by his Decree the Power of electing Roman Emperors to the German Nation in that Form which is observed down to our Times, forbidding the Elect (in order to reserve to the Pontiffs some Preeminence) to assume the Title of Emperor, or Augustus, before they received the Crown of the Empire (whence was introduced the Coming to Rome to be crowned) and to use

*Gregory
Vth's De-
cree in
favour of
Germany.*

use no other Title than that of *King of the Romans*, or *Cæsar*. A. D.
1532.

BUT the *Othos* afterwards failing, and the Power of the Emperors being diminished, because the Empire did not continue hereditary in great Kings, *Rome* openly withdrew itself from their Obedience, and many Cities, during the Empire of *Conrade* the *Suabian*, rebelled, and the Pontiffs, attentive to enlarge their own Authority, ruled in a manner at *Rome*, tho' frequently by the Insolence and Discords of the People they met with many Difficulties. To repress their Unruliness they had lately, by Favour of the Emperor *Henry II.* who was at *Rome*, transferred by Law the Authority of creating a Pontiff to the Cardinals alone.

Creation
of Popes
vested in
Cardinals.

To the Greatness of the Pontiffs succeeded a new Augmentation; for the *Normans*, the First of whom was *William* surnamed *Iron-Arm*, having usurped *Puglia* and *Calabria* from the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, *Robert Guiscard*, one of those Usurpers, either to furnish himself with

A. D. some Colour of Right, or to be better
 1532. enabled to defend himself against those
 Emperors, or for other Reasons, restored,
 as rightfully belonging to the Ecclesiastic
 Jurisdiction, *Benevento*, and acknow-
 ledged the Dutchies of *Puglia* and *Calab-
 ria* in Fee of the *Roman Church*. His
 Example was followed by *Roger*, one of
 his Successors, who having driven *Wil-
 liam* of the same Family out of the
 Dutchies of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and af-
 terwards seized on *Sicily*, acknowledged
 about the Year 1130, those Provinces in
 Fee of the Church, under the Title of
King of both Sicilies, one beyond, the
 other on this Side, *the Faro*, the Pontiffs
 not refusing, out of Ambition, and for
 their own Profit, to assist and encourage
 Usurpation and Violence in others.

Naples
 and *Sici-
 ly* Fiefs
 of the
 Church.

By these Rights, which were always
 capable of further stretching, as human
 Desires know no Bounds, the Pon-
 tiffs began to deprive some of the Kings
 who shewed themselves contumacious,
 and refractory to their Commands of
 those Kingdoms, and to grant them to
 others.

others. After this Manner they came ^{A. D.} into the Possession of *Henry* the Son of ^{1532.} *Frederic Barbarossa*, and from *Henry* to his Son *Frederic II.* all three successively *Roman* Emperors. But *Frederic* becoming a very bitter Persecutor of the Church, and the Factions of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibellins* taking their Rise in his Time, and having for their Heads the Pontiff and the Emperor, after *Frederic's* Decease, the Pontiff granted the Investiture of those Kingdoms to *Charles* Count of *Anjou* and *Provence*, as has been menti-^{Granted} oned above, with a yearly Tribute of ^{to Charles} 6000 Ounces of Gold, and on Condition ^{of Anjou.} that not one of those Kings should for the future accept of the *Roman* Empire. This Condition was afterwards constantly specified in the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, because the Kingdom of the Island of *Sicily*, in the Possession of the Kings of *Aragon*, was, after a few Years, separated in Tribute, and in Acknowledgment of the Fee, from Obedience to the Church.

It has also passed for Truth, tho' not

A. D. so certain as in the preceding Cases,
 1532. that long before this the Countess *Matilda*, a very powerful Princess in *Italy*, made a Donation to the Church of that Part of *Tuscany* which is bounded by the Torrent of *Pescia* and the Castle of *St. Quirico* in the Territory of *Siena* on one Side, and on the other by the Lower or *Tuscan Sea*, and the River *Tiber*, now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*; and others add that the City of *Ferrara* was by the said Countess given to the Church.

Donations
 of Coun-
 tess *Ma-*
tilda.

THESE last Donations are not certain, but there is yet more Reason to doubt, what some have written, that *Agobert*, King of the *Lombards*, while their Kingdom flourished, bestowed on the Church the *Coccian Alps*, in which, they say, are comprehended *Genoa*, and all the Territory extending from that City to the Borders of *Provence*; and that *Luitprand*, a King of the same Nation, made a Donation of *the Sabina*, a Country near *Rome*, and of *Narni* and *Ancona*, with some other Towns.

Uncertain
 Donations

THE State of Affairs thus changing, A. D. 1532.
 variable also were the Circumstances of
 the Pontiffs with regard to the Emperors.
 For having been under Persecution for Primitive
 many Ages from the Emperors, and af- State of
 terwards freed from that Terror by the the Popes.
 Conversion of *Constantine*, they enjoyed
 Rest indeed, but attending only to Spi-
 ritual Matters, and being little less than
 entirely subject, for many Years, under
 the Shadow of his Successors, lived after
 that for a long Course of Time in a low
 Condition, and wholly separate from any
 Commerce with the Emperors by the
 Greatness of the *Lombards* in *Italy*.

BUT after the Pontiffs were, by the
 Benefit of the Kings of *France*, arrived
 at temporal Power, they lived in very
 good Harmony with the Emperors, and
 in a cheerful Dependence on their Autho-
 rity while the Imperial Dignity continued
 in the Descendents of *Charlemagne*, both
 on account of mutual Kindnesses, and out
 of Reverence to the Imperial Grandeur.
 This coming afterwards to decline, the
 Popes wholly separated themselves from

A. D. the Emperors, and began to form Pretensions that the Pontifical Dignity, far from receiving, ought to give Laws to the Imperial.

1532.

They
shake off
Subjection to the
Emperors

WHEREFORE abhorring above all things to return under their antient Subjection, for preventing the Emperors from getting the antient Rights of the Empire acknowledged in *Rome* or elsewhere, as some of them, who were either of greater Power, or of a loftier Spirit, made Attempts for that Purpose, they openly opposed their Efforts by Force of Arms, with the Assistance of those Tyrants, who, under the Name of Princes, and of those Cities, which, having asserted themselves at Liberty, no longer acknowledged the Authority of the Empire.

Oppose
them with
Arms.

HENCE it came to pass that the Pontiffs, continually taking more and more upon themselves, and converting the Terror of Spiritual Arms on Temporal Matters, interpreting themselves also as Vicars of Christ upon Earth, superior to the
Em-

Emperor, and intrusted, in many Cases, with the Care of earthly States, sometimes deprived the Emperors of the Imperial Dignity, stimulating the Electors to chuse others in their Room; and on the other Side the Emperors either chose, or procured to be chosen new Pontiffs.

A. D.
1532.

Depose
them.

THE State of the Church being greatly weakened by these Disputes, and no less by the Residence of the *Roman* Court for 70 Years in the City of *Avignon*, and by the Schism that succeeded in *Italy* after the Return of the Pontiffs, from hence it happened that in the Cities subject to the Church, and especially in those of *Romagna*, many of the powerful Citizens set up a Tyranny over their own Country. These Tyrants the Pontiffs either prosecuted with Arms, or, finding themselves too weak to oppose them, granted them those Cities in Fee to themselves, or raising up other Chiefs invested them with the Dominion. Thus the Cities of *Romagna* came to have particular Lords under the Title, for the most part, of *Ecclesiastic Vicars*. Thus *Ferrara*, given

Originand
Vicissitudes of
Ecclesiastic
Vicars.

by

A. D.

1532.

by the Pontiff in Subjection to the Government of *Azzo da Esti*, was afterwards granted him under the Name of a Vicariat, and that Family in Process of Time obtained more illustrious Titles. Thus also *Bologna*, seized by *Giovanni Visconti*, Archbishop of *Milan*, was afterwards granted him by the Pontiff as a Vicariat. From the same Origin arose a Multitude of particular Lords in many of the Cities of the *Marca d' Ancona*, of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, and of *Umbria*, now called the Dutchy of *Spoletto*, either against the Will, or with a kind of forced Consent of the Pontiffs. The same Changes being made also as to the Cities of the Empire in *Lombardy*, it sometimes happened that, according to the Variations of Affairs, the Vicars of *Romagna*, and of other Ecclesiastic States, openly withdrawing themselves from the Authority of the Church, acknowledged themselves to hold those Cities in Fee from the Emperors, as sometimes they who were in Possession of *Milan*, *Mantoua*, and other Imperial Towns in *Lombardy*, acknowledged them in Fee from the Pontiffs.

IN

IN those Times *Rome*, tho' retaining in Name the Dominion of the Church, was governed by itself. And tho' the *Romans* Pontiffs, at their Return from *Avignon* to *Italy*, were at first worshiped as Lords, yet soon afterwards the *Romans*, having instituted the Magistracy of the Bannerets *, relapsed into their old Contumacy, so that the Pontiffs exercising but very little Authority, began to be sick of living in it, and to reside elsewhere, till the *Romans* growing poor, and falling into very great Disorders from the Absence of the Court, and the Jubilee now approaching, in which they hoped that, if the Pontiff should be at *Rome*, they could not fail of a very great Concourse from all Parts of Christendom on account of the Jubilee, they supplicated Pope *Boniface*, in the most humble Manner, to return thither, offering to abolish all the Bannerets, and to submit themselves entirely to his Obedience.

ON those Conditions *Boniface* returned to

* *Banderefi.*

A. D. 1532. *to Rome*, and, the *Romans* being intent on the Gains of that Year, assumed the absolute Sovereignty of the City, and fortified and garrisoned the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*. His Successors down to Pope *Eugene*, tho' they often met with many Difficulties, did yet afterwards fully establish their absolute Dominion, and the following Pontiffs have without Dispute lorded it over that City at their Pleasure.

Reduced
to their
absolute
Obedi-
ence.

On these Foundations, and by those Steps, being exalted to earthly Power, and having by little and little laid aside the Remembrance of the Salvation of Souls, and of the divine Precepts, and turned all their Thoughts on worldly Greatness, nor any longer using the Spiritual Authority, but as instrumental and subservient to the Temporal. they came to appear more like temporal Princes than Pontiffs, and their Care and Business became no longer Sanctity of Life, no longer the Exercise of Religion, no longer fervent Affection towards their Neighbours, but Armies, but Wars against Christians, handling the Mysteries with bloody Thoughts and Hands,

Degeneracy of the
Popes.

Hands, how to multiply pecuniary Laws, *A. D.*
 to invent new Arts, new Snares for taking ^{1532.}
 the Unwary, and accumulating Money
 from all Quarters, for this End to employ
 without Distinction the Spiritual Arms,
 for this End to make promiscuous Sale
 without Shame of Things sacred and
 profane. The Riches in which they
 abounded as well as their whole Court,
 were followed by Pomp, Luxury, Indecency
 of Manners, with abominable
 Lusts and Pleasure, no Regard to Successors,
 no Thought of perpetuating the
 Majesty of the Pontificate, but, instead of
 this, an ambitious and plaguy Desire of exalting
 their Sons, Nephews, and Relations,
 not only to immoderate Wealth,
 but to Principalities, to Kingdoms, no
 longer distributing Dignities and Emoluments
 to the Well-deserving and Virtuous,
 but almost constantly either selling them
 at the dearest Rate, or lavishing them on
 Persons administering to their Ambition,
 Avarice, or shameful Pleasures.

By such Works as these the Pontifical
 Reverence being utterly extinguished

A. D. 1532. guished in the Hearts of the People, the Authority was however supported in part by the Name, and by the Majesty, so wonderfully powerful and efficacious, of Religion, and greatly assisted by the Faculty which the Popes have of gratifying great Princes, and those who have most Interest with them, by means of Dignities and other Ecclesiastic Grants. Hence knowing themselves to be in the highest Respect with Men, and that whoever takes up Arms against them incurs great Reproach and frequent Oppositions from other Princes, and at all Events gains but little, and that when they are Conquerors, they use their Victory at Discretion, and when conquered obtain what Conditions they please, and being stimulated by an immoderate Desire of advancing their Relations from a private Rank to Principalities, they have for a long time past been very frequently instrumental in stirring up Wars and new Combustions in *Italy*.

Popes industrious to excite Wars in *Italy*.

BUT to resume our main Design, from which a very just Concern for the public Loss had transported me with more Ardor than

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The Cities, &c.

These two foregoing Passages are extant in the French Translation, with de la Noue's Remarks beforementioned, printed at Basil 1569, in 8vo, with this Title: Francisci Guicciardini Locci duo, ob Rerum quas continent Gravitationem Cognitione dignissimi, qui ex ipsius Historiarum Libris tertio et quarto Dolo malo detracti in Exemplaribus hactenus impressis desiderantur. Printed again in 1602, without the Name of the Printer or Place. Again in 1604 at Francfort.

F I N I S.



THE WARS IN ITALY

then is referred to the laws of Italy

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I N D E X

ERRATA in the Tenth VOLUME.

PAGE 93, *Line 7, read Prince of Orange.—*
p. 107, l. 6, dele Three.—p. 113, l. 6, read
Bishopric.—p. 134, l. 18, read Adrian.—p. 143.
l. 12, r. two Hundred.—p. 173, l. 1, r. were.—
p. 176, l. 13, r. Besiegers.—p. 179, l. 14, r. Pope.
p. 186, l. 9, r. he.—p. 214, l. 18. r. became.—
p. 281, l. 5, r. chuse.—from p. 261 to 387, the
Dates in the Margin to be omitted.

